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INTERNATIONAL

ARISMENDI ON IMPLICATIONS OF NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 80 pp 9-36

[Article by Rodney Arismendi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uruguayan Communist Party: "The People's Spring in Nicaragua"]

[Text] First Reflections After the Joyous News of Victory

The people's spring was the name given by the prominent thinkers to the revolutionary flames which engulfed France in 1789-1793. The victory of the Sandinista revolution seems to us precisely such a spring, that is, the coming to life of an entire people, and a new hope for all of Latin America. And it would not be unreasonable optimism to feel that the revolution is of general continental significance and will have an impact on the entire region. It is possible to maintain one's "pessimism of reason" in tact and at the same time see how dawn is beginning to break over our America.

One is convinced of this again when one glances back at the recent past of the world. Nicaragua has inscribed a glorious page in the history of brilliant victories over fascism and tyrannies which ruled for long and bloody years. Quite recently all attention was focused on Iran. The extended and ever-growing mass demonstrations evoked fierce repression which breached the limit of patience. Popular hate aroused enormous masses of people who were electrified by Islam, it united them with the young feddains who favored Marxism, with the students and intelligentsia which had received a secular education, and with members of the Tudeh (Communist) Party. Regardless of the powerful army and the secret police of the shah, the demonstrations merged with strikes by the militant oil workers as well as the general strikes which followed one after another, and continued until they grew into an armed insurrection. As events developed, the moral strength of the people had an effect on the state of the army, and a portion of it went over to the side of the revolution. Thus the old terroristic monarchy was overthrown. It was helped neither by the petrodollars, nor by the hundreds of thousands of soldiers armed to the teeth by the Pentagon, nor by the fact that it served as the center for the entire military structure of American imperialism in the strategic region of Asia. And regardless of all the difficulties and dangers which have arisen

on the path of development of the current process, the Iranian revolution is a major blow against imperialism and against all forces of regression in the region, from Israel to the nations of the Indian Ocean including the vast oil-producing zone.

In Europe, several years previously, the Greek and Portuguese versions of fascism left the scene, followed later by the Spanish. The national crisis exacerbated by the Cyprus adventure brought an end to the dictatorship of the "black colonels" in Greece. The growing rebel struggle in the colonies and the growth of the democratic movement in Portugal led to the April Revolution in Portugal, an action by the progressive military supported by the masses of people. The people and the troop units marched in a single formation through the streets of Lisbon. The fire of their hearts burned as red carnations in the gun barrels.

The downfall of Spanish fascism occurred somewhat differently. Over long years of struggle after the collapse of the republic--basically a political struggle, and always exclusively conspiratorial and at times armed, aimed at arousing the masses and at a unity of actions by all the opponents of Francoism--prerequisites were created for the development of a new situation in the country. Here also one could feel the changes in the economic basis of the regime, the development of world trends and domestic internecine fights. The world was witness of the extended disintegration of Spanish fascism. The death of Franco caused an upsurge in the people's struggle and qualitative changes in the process. And regardless of the complexity of the situation, democracy was restored in Spain.

I would like to take up the example of this country in somewhat greater detail because of the blood shed by Uruguayan communists on the Spanish land and also because of our ardent solidarity with the Spanish people. Among the rulers who attended Franco's funeral were two new fascists: the Chilean Gen Pinochet and the Uruguayan Vador. They did not recognize that their outright exaltation was completely out of place and was, at least, an evil omen for their own regimes. In fact they said farewell to the most classic bulwark of fascism out of all the surviving ones. Gone to the nether regions was not only a feeble, blood-thirsty butcher--damned for his crimes many years ago in one of Neruda's poems--but in fact the system itself followed him. Rescued by English and American ruling circles at the very moment that his "godfathers" Mussolini and Hitler, had fallen into oblivion, Franco survived the postwar times and seemed strong for all these 40 years. The fall of Francoism was a depressing and sorrowful event for the newly-hatched military-fascist tyrannies in Chile and Uruguay and a holiday for our peoples.

It is quite probable that Anastasio Somoza at that time was also thinking about the possibility of the eternal existence of his dynasty, since "by age" it had outlived Francoism and was engaged in plundering right in the backyard of the United States. But, having reached an age of 45, the Nicaraguan tyranny also fell, ending its days in a situation of dismal crimes and monstrous genocide. It was crushed in the course of a people's

revolt which occurred in various forms, in the course of a holy war of all the people which developed as a result of the political actions of the Sandinista and their extended partisan struggle. Ended were the years of heroic battles which had cost so many victims and had demanded infinite courage.

However the victory places a laurel wreath not only on the head of the chief figure of the revolution, the Nicaraguans, but rather it is a triumph for all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin, an example for them. It is an important point in the worldwide struggle for heroic feats and the profoundest revolutionary changes. In many aspects this victory requires our careful analysis.

Before beginning to examine the phenomenon of interest to us, it is essential to recall the following obvious truth. Like Iran, events in Nicaragua convince us that victory over fascism and the bloodiest tyrannies which seem strong and invincible depends more and more in our times upon a determination to fight against them with all available means, and that the most important weapon of victory is the unity and solidarity of all their opponents, a unity capable of fully releasing the enormous energy of the masses.

If in a historical retrospective one places in a single row the popular revolt in Nicaragua and the fall of the fascist regimes in Europe, the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and other African countries, the Ethiopian and Afghan revolutions, and all that is linked with the grandiose Vietnamese saga and the more than 20-year period which has passed since the victory of the Cuban revolution, it is not very difficult to conclude that our times are not favorable for fascism and regressive tyrannies, and likewise for colonialism and other forms of national suppression. The historical process, the foundation of which is now the age of socialist revolutions and democratic changes, is continuing to develop and grow deeper, regardless of the acute contradictions. There is no guarantee for automatic successes or easy prospects. Liberation often demands a high price in blood and a long list of victims; it is and should be the cause of our doings, as the wind of history is blowing in our sails.

And, of course, now as never before, it is clear that no people fights in isolation for its liberty. International democratic solidarity, closely interlinked with proletarian internationalism, comprises an enormous, truly political force. And it is continuously growing stronger turning into a universal democratic struggle aimed, in particular, against fascism and imperialist aggressions.

This is certainly felt by all of those who are alarmed and infuriated by the present development of events, and among them the fascists of South America. They showed a readiness to intervene in Nicaragua along with the United States, and only at the last moment rejected this, abstaining from voting in the Organization of American States (OAS). Words condemning their regimes burn in fiery letters in the sky, as in the well known biblical legend. In the near future, endeavoring to escape from the dread, they

will endeavor to strengthen repression, but this will not help them, they are still doomed.

A Time of Storm and Stress in Latin America

The first German romantics called their movement "Sturm und Drang" [Storm and Stress]. Although they lived in an age of revolutionary ferment in Europe, they had in mind primarily the dynamics of their spiritual growth. Nicaragua is a stress force which, beyond any doubt, will encourage the development of democratic and liberation friends which are being felt throughout Latin America and the Caribbean basin. This is also proof of the revolutionary storm reinforced--as an indication of the new situation on the continent--by the solidarity of the peoples and governments from the broadest spectrum known to the present. In and of itself this shows what powerful extant or potential broad forces exist today for isolating and defeating the fascist dictatorships of Chile and Uruguay and the other terrible tyrannies.

Kissinger, the author of the plan for the counteroffensive by imperialism and fascism, a plan which has sharply and negatively altered the balance of forces in Latin America, on the eve of the fall of Somoza stated that the establishing of a "radical leftist government" in Nicaragua would turn the continent back to the beginning of the 1970's. This statement pursued a clearly provocative aim of justifying intervention. If the possibility of intervention is excluded, the events and phenomena of those years would scarcely be repeated in such forms. However it is obvious that Nicaragua is proof of a profound crisis in Latin American society and having its particular features in each country or zone depending upon the degree of warped capitalist development and the form of American suppression, and in accord with its history and political situation. Latin America is like a volcano, where a structural socioeconomic crisis of our countries and a crisis of U.S. imperialist rule are being born, and experience is being gained in resistance, in a democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, which is becoming ever deeper and since the Cuban revolution has assumed the traits of an irreversible process. This is also proof of the complexity of the path--bloody and difficult, zig-zag-like, with brilliant achievements and sharp retreats--for the liberation of our peoples.

However, at the same time, this shows the impermanence and political instability of the fascist dictatorships in the Southern Hemisphere. The 6 years of existence have brought them to political isolation, to condemnation by their own peoples, and to unmasking on the international scene. This is a truth which cannot be obviated even by the fact that the Somoza family kept power for 45 years, while the length of Stroessner's rule has exceeded 20.

Precisely the overthrow of Somoza shows that the hour of a new dawn is coming, with a reinforcing--from one country to the other--of the democratic and liberation trends, the first indications of which were disclosed, in our opinion, in the second half of 1977.

The counteroffensive by fascism and reaction as organized and headed by the U.S. State Department, the CIA and Pentagon, was a heavy blow and a very severe defeat for our peoples. It was possible due to a sharp change in the political situation within South America. Fascism represented a danger for all the democratic governments and forces on the continent. However, this counteroffensive was not restricted to the settling of bloody scores with the working class and the people, and in particular, with the communist movement, the leftist forces and all progressive circles. It was directed against and became a means of conspiracy against the regimes existing in Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica and other countries, against the patriotic demands of Panama, and an implement for applying pressure in them. Within the counteroffensive there was the concentrating of troop units on the frontier with Guyana and pressure was applied to Peru. This led to a turn to the right by its government. In other words, the counteroffensive was to create an alliance of dictatorships in the Southern Hemisphere with the imperialists and South African racists.... All these forces wanted to weaken the influence of the Latin American Economic System (LAES) and the Andean Group. They stated that they were the vanguard of the third world anticommunist war aimed against the USSR, the other socialist countries and the entire progressive movement in the so-called Third World. They attempted to free Western Europe from democratic failings and to rescue the Church which had fallen into a Red trap, from the Cathedral of St. Peters to the smallest church parish....

This was and is an enormous danger which must be considered until the dictatorships have been crushed. Even now it cannot be disregarded, although the isolation of these regimes shows their approaching fall. And this must be said with all frankness. Such an underestimation has existed and still does occur. Some have felt that with the exception of probably the Pinochet junta which is classified as a fascist dictatorship (a shameful definition), all the remaining ones scarcely went beyond the confines of traditional Latin American tyrannies. At times such a description was related to something else, that is, an underestimation of the international role of Latin America, while in other instances, this was a product of a sort of blindness and limited schematicism, of a more or less pseudoscientific nature, and from which our ranks are certainly not free.

Fortunately, or more accurately due to political maturity, all or nearly all the communist parties in Latin America and the Caribbean Basin have recognized the danger of fascism advancing from the south and ready to join forces with the old tyrannies which have a fascist nature or use fascist methods. The great solidarity manifested on the continent and throughout the world toward Chile and then Uruguay and other countries, and particularly in recent years for Nicaragua shows how much the understanding of the monstrous danger of fascism has grown. The enormous scale of this solidarity--peoples, parliaments, democratic governments, and various cultural figures, and in particular Gabriel Garcia Marques, upon whose initiative the Habeas Fund was organized for defending human rights in Latin America--has shown that confronted with the fascist danger and the conspiracies of American imperialism and tyrannies, it is possible to bring

together on a common democratic platform the broadest social and political, religious and secular, civilian and military forces.

The Antifascist and Antidictatorial Strategy Fits Within the Confines of the Historical Revolutionary Struggle

Our desire to define the dictatorships of Chile and Uruguay as fascist ones, and certain others as carrying a fascist nature or using fascist methods, has never been related to a purist's affinity for definitions, or, particularly, to a desire to clarify the "sex of angels." It has corresponded to reality and to a serious scientific analysis from which concrete strategic conclusions can be drawn. We have encountered a new phenomenon which has appeared as a result of the counterrevolutionary, antidemocratic plans of American imperialism as well as from changes which have occurred in the economic basis of Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and other countries and influencing social relations and the exacerbation of the liberation and class struggle. These were the terroristic dictatorships of financial capital, the monopolistic bourgeois and certain latifundista circles which were in the service of imperialism. Alvaro Cunhal has used similar expressions and terms in classifying the Portuguese dictatorship which was overthrown by the April Revolution.

Those who make counterarguments and shameful rejoinders on these definitions emphasize the absence in Latin America of mass parties similar to Hitler's Nazi Party. In other instances they refer to the level of capitalist development in our countries and to the existence or absence of financial, monopolistic capital, forgetting many well-known social and economic realities. They also endeavor to overwhelm us with the question: "How can fascism arise in dependent countries?"

Sometimes, instead of answering ourselves, we prefer to make them argue with Georgi Dimitrov and the Seventh Comintern Congress, as for some reference to famous quotations is worth more than any argument. These documents emphasized that in individual countries such as Hungary, Yugoslavia and so forth, the army and the police for a certain time played the role of the fascist party. As for the level of capitalist development, in actuality it was no higher in many Central European and Balkan states which at that time were defined as fascist, or even Portugal than in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Colombia and other Latin American countries, in which fascism exists or is absent today.

If one speaks about dependence, then Portugal, for example, was defined by V. I. Lenin as a dependent country, although it also had its own colonies at that time. And on this basis would anyone get it into his head to deny the fascist nature of the inveterate dictatorship which ruled many years in it?

I do not want to repeat here all the arguments raised by our and other parties on this question. I will merely make two explanations. Several statements have appeared on the given question and these should be entered

in the reader. For example, it was stated that "in Latin America one can speak about fascism for propaganda and not scientific purposes." Thin propaganda which is condemned to vegetate in political ambiguity, or an absurdity outside of science!

This statement merits another said with great feeling: "There is no serious scientific argument in favor of the existence of fascism in Latin America." In saying this, the author thereby avoids the necessity of putting forward his own argument in order to somehow prove his truth, although he would still not cease being ludicrous.

The ascertaining of the fascist nature of one or another regime determines the strategy and tactics related to defining the possible breadth of resistance both on a continental scale and on a national one. In practice this strategy has gained its fullest embodiment in the united actions of the peoples and governments vis-a-vis Nicaragua. And it should continue and develop, since precisely it makes unstable the basic political structures of South American fascism and the most hated tyrannies, and is still another means reinforcing their domestic and international isolation. And it becomes ever greater as new times approach on the continent.

The dictatorships of Chile and Uruguay are isolated. In Bolivia, a united people and a militant communist party have achieved a great success. Fascism has fallen. The people's and workers movement and the growing ranks of the national opposition are shaking the military-fascist structures in Brazil. Ecuador has returned to democratic forms of rule. The leading detachments of the working class and the people have joined together in Peru. Panama and Jamaica are strengthening their patriotic and progressive position. In Venezuela, Mexico and Costa Rica, the positions of democratic forces are being consolidated or strengthened. In Colombia, seemingly, the plans for a reactionary conspiracy of the fascist sort have been thwarted, although the danger is still not fully over.... And even on the smallest islands in the Caribbean, for example on Grenada, changes or a revolutionary upsurge are occurring.

The sharp response of our peoples who have responded to the struggle which is being waged in any area of the continent, beyond any doubt, is being felt today through new impulses, as has always occurred, particularly during the period of the liberation revolution on Cuba. The positive factor of unity and solidarity is manifested in this way to the highest degree, and this factor does not contradict the national or regional uniqueness of the process in each country, the different and diverse rates and forms of development of each revolution, and the many-colored range of political situations.

And how the role of Cuba has grown on the continent! We are not now speaking about the historical importance of its revolution or all the events which have occurred during the 20 years of existence of the first socialist republic in Latin America, but are merely concerned with the strengthening of its influence on the international policy of our continent. This is

affirmed, in particular, by the restoration of relations between Cuba and a majority of nations in the region. The blockade of Cuba which the United States has refused to abandon is continuously undermined by the almost daily establishing of relations with one or another country.

It is important to say this now, when the closest friendship links the Sandistas with Fidel and his comrades, a friendship which to a significant degree arose due to old solid ties. Cuba embodies socialism in the Western Hemisphere. It is part of the socialist commonwealth, and at the same time is an influential force of world liberation, as is seen, among other examples, from its international help to the African nations or its major role in the nonalignment movement. Cuba stands at the forefront in Latin America and not only has not isolated itself from the broadest democratic and anti-imperialist currents, but has also encouraged and supported them. The positions of Cuba and these currents have coincided over the question of solidarity with Nicaragua, and also on another, significantly broader level, in the organizing and activities of the LAES and other economic and social organizations. Cuba, beyond any doubt, is a portion of this actually existing front of which Fidel spoke and which we at times call the front of peoples and governments.

Moreover, Cuba, having overcome the flagrant aggression and blockade with aid from the USSR and the other socialist countries, has been weighty proof that imperialism is no longer omnipotent in our region. And this fact is of enormous significance at the moment of crisis in the domination of American imperialism in Latin America and the stronger resistance and tendency to oppose this domination.

It is very important, without fearing to appear importunate, to insist on the assertion that democratic trends are growing. In a relatively short period of time, all political forces have been brought into the movement. Greater activity has been shown both by the homogeneous and the heterogeneous movements which are diverse and contradictory in social and political terms, but which, however, are capable of coming together, as occurred in Nicaragua, in the struggle for democracy, self-determination and social progress. Unification has occurred on a very broad basis from the working class to the national reformist groups of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless the coinciding of interests cannot exclude a class struggle, and this has impelled the working class and its party to carry out independent actions and has required quantitative and qualitative growth of the leftist forces. It does not eliminate and will never eliminate the differences in programs and political aims as extant in each country, as well as on a scale of the entire country, where it is essential to strengthen the union of peoples, the common front or the organic unity of the working class, the peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia and students, and all the basic groups of the middle strata which comprise the motivating forces of our revolution.

This dialectical concept was clearly expressed in the Havana Declaration of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin. Such a criterion was accepted by our party after the coup in Chile, and was

reflected in the documents from January 1974. It has become the basis for our actions at the meeting of the Latin American communist parties.

Our comrade, Fidel Castro, with his inherent political geniality, in his speech on the occasion of the national holiday of 26 July 1979, emphasized the democratic and liberation nature of the Nicaraguan revolution. "...There has arisen," he said, "a great movement of international solidarity which has brought together all the leftist Central American and South American forces. Around the struggle of the Sandistas spontaneously there has arisen an alliance which we would call the great democratic--liberation--anti-interventionist front of Latin America. Something of historical significance and enormous importance."² (Emphasis by the author --R. A.)

Fidel, as affirmation of his statement, referred to the voting results in the OAS, and particularly took up the participation of Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela and the remaining states of the Andean Group, Mexico, Jamaica, Grenada and others in this action. He highly praised the role of many presidents and figures in these countries who showed solidarity with Nicaragua. And he added: "There was not a single party, a single leftist organization in Latin America which did not express its readiness to fight, there was not a single one which did not show solidarity with the struggle of the Sandinista people. To maintain this mood...to support this spirit is very important for all the peoples who are still suffering from fascism and bloody tyrannies."³

Several Words on Social Democracy

The forces related to European Social Democracy contributed to the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution. In Latin America, the truly socialist parties, both Chilean and the Uruguayan, are not members of the Socialist International. The closest ties with the Socialist International are maintained primarily by national reformist parties, some of which are in power, while others are in the opposition, however all of them are large mass parties.

The Socialist International is intervening more directly into the affairs of Latin America and the entire so-called "Third World." In particular, it has participated in unmasking fascism and in the solidarity campaigns. For this reason it is essential that we, the communists, voice our opinion on this question.

The breadth of our strategy presupposes a uniting against fascism and tyrannies, the imperialist creatures, on the part of all their opponents. Consequently, it presupposes carrying out on the Continent a unitary policy with the international Social Democracy, and with the forces which to one degree or another cooperate with it. Aside from all else, this conforms to the fundamental and tactical line outlined by the 1975 Havana Conference. We are endeavoring to ask together with the international Social Democracy in the common engagements against fascism and the reactionary dictatorships,

and against imperialist aggression, and in favor of social and political progress, the advancement of our peoples along the path of democracy, as well as for peace and the establishing of a new international economic order. One cannot speak of this with a doctrinal approach for views. Such a policy is more complicated and dynamic, and is evolved depending upon the specific conditions under which the dialectical development of classes is occurring, the trends are formed and various political shadings appear in an unique balance of forces. However, the unity and coinciding of efforts comprise a portion of the present long-range and broad strategy.

Certainly, on the theoretical level and as for the great revolutionary goals, including the tasks of the radical democratic and anti-imperialist phase, when the bases are established for a transition to socialism, we must not forget that the leading forces of international Social Democracy as well as those of the bourgeois national reformist parties on the Continent are endeavoring to restrain a socialist revolution to replace it or to shift it to the path of reforms within a capitalist framework. This can be seen from their history and activities in those countries where they have come to power. Of course, it must be considered that Social Democracy is not uniform, and it has various currents and figures. Some are more or less radical while others are tied to the governments of the imperialist powers. It would be a great oversimplification to say that in this instance they completely share or reflect the imperialist aspirations of their states, however the given factor must be considered without fail. This is a dialectical phenomenon, and consequently, a contradictory one. The equilibrium between the two sides in the conduct of Social Democracy is often disrupted by the anticommunism which is organically inherent to some of its leaders.

All of this indicates that the unity and coinciding of views achieve, fortunately, over the question of Nicaragua at the same time brings to the forefront the entire question of ideological confrontations which arise on the grounds of the class struggle. This emphasizes the necessity of strengthening historically the vanguard role of the working class and its parties, as well as the struggle for uniting all the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

Nicaragua Affirms and Also Teaches

Any true popular revolution which is unique in kind, regardless of all this uniqueness, requires an attentive and careful attitude to its problems for a critical extraction of certain, most general lessons. In the given instance, it is a question of sketchily formulating those ideas which the Nicaraguan revolution has brought out for the democrats and revolutionaries of Latin America.

The Historical and Strategic Significance of the Nicaraguan Victory

For Central American and the Caribbean Basin, the revolution is equal in its strategic significance to the Iranian revolution. Like the latter, it

has destroyed the old bastions of exploitation and aggression which were created over an extended period of time by U.S. imperialism. Nicaragua is a sort of small Iran, possibly without those innumerable reserves of oil, however located on the so-called "inland sea" of the empire, and in the permanent arena of its interventionist, colonial and neocolonial alliances. As for the revolutionary impact, Nicaragua has set an example of a social, politically progressive, modern, secular revolution. Religion which in Iran was the mobilizing force of the masses and which today represents a danger due to the fact that the ruling classes are endeavoring to use it in Nicaragua has been a part of the democratic current of the people and government united around the Sandistas. Marching in the same ranks are priests who now are ministers and previously were rebels, young democrats, revolutionaries, including Marxist-Leninists, and simply patriots who supported reforms and rose against the tyranny. The breadth of the popular front and its unity in Nicaragua are proof of maturity and not of political weakness.

As for the political and even the emotional effect on the continent, one must then add certain other considerations to what has already been said. Entire generations of Latin Americans, upon entering political life, already praised Sandino as the "general of free persons," and saw in the Somoza family the embodiment of all that was dirtiest and most criminal and which the United States had created in our land. For us who were born and fought in Uruguay, until recently a country with democratic institutions and culture, it was always a terrible insult to compare any politician or regime with Somoza or with his creatures.⁴ Even at those times when the hypocritical servants of the upper Uruguayan bourgeoisie were ready in the OAS, along with the Somoza representatives, to use the unrestrained pan-American phraseology and to act jointly for "saving democracy from communism," the name of the Nicaraguan dictator was always considered a swear word among our politicians. Thus, the newspaper EL PAIS which is published in Montevideo and is now the running dog of local fascism in the past permitted sharp attacks against the tyrant, possibly on the same pages on which recently American intervention into the Nicaraguan events was hysterically demanded.

Nevertheless, the Somoza dynasty existed several decades. Neither the self-sacrifice of such people as Roman Raudalez nor the killing of one of the tyrants by Rigoberto Lopez Perez helped. This was the situation until about 20 years ago, the Sandinista Front of National Liberation was formed. Then a political force arose which began the next stage of the partisan struggle and which opened up qualitatively new prospects.

Dishonored from the very outset by the murder of Sandino (upon the direct orders of the American Ambassador Bliss Laine), Somoza and his regime continued to exist thanks to imperialism. They carried out their mission.⁵ Somozaism was the core of the military-political superstructure created by American imperialism for rule in Central America and the Caribbean Basin. Moreover, he claimed (like Stroessner and Duvalier and even earlier Trujillo, and as Pinochet and certain Uruguayan generals who won their

pranks in torture chambers) to stand above good and evil. Somoza and his associates had nothing to lose on the moral level. The State Department or Pentagon had merely to frown or the American diplomat to telephone and the Somoza family was ready to provide any service in the United Nations or OAS. Or to employ the diplomacy of cloak and dagger. Or to put pressure on neighboring countries, to threatening an invasion. Or to divert a portion of its plundered millions to nip in the bud the desire of the military in Guatemala, El Salvador or other other countries for independence from the empire. When John Foster Dulles ordered an intervention in Guatemala and an end to the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz, Managua became the center of this conspiracy. Somewhat later it was the basis for the preparations and departure of the troops formed up by the U.S. government and the CIA and landed at the Bay of Pigs as part of a broader invasion by American soldiers and marines and which was brilliantly repelled by the Cuban revolution in 72 hours.

Aggression against Costa Rica was carried out regularly from Nicaraguan territory. In Managua, with U.S. support, the failed conspiracy against Torrijos was conceived and, according to the existing data, this envisaged the murder of the Panamanian patriot. Need one go farther?

A U.S. base between the two oceans is a potential territory in the occasion that another canal must be built, or a paradise for "hired killers" trained by the CIA for actions against the Cuban revolution and used for reprisal against Chamorro.... Seething with anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and anti-Cuban attacks, the Somoza dynasty by its very nature was always a mortal enemy of democratic governments in the region.

All the parties and political forces, from the national reformists to the leftists, had political and even personal scores to settle with the tyrant and his family. Behind Somoza always stood Allen Dulles and the CIA, the racist politicians of the United States and the Southern Command located in the Panama Canal Zone. His family went to extremes, having hired a lobby which was approximately 140 congressmen in the U.S. Congress. The Somoza dynasty, like the old lackeys in aristocratic houses "intervened" in the affairs of its masters. It was the embodiment or fly-blown heraldic symbol of the dirtiest face of American imperialism. For this reason, it outlived all presidents and their "doctrines," starting from such prominent leaders as Roosevelt and ending with such swindlers as Nixon.

For fatalists who do not believe in revolution, the Somoza family seemed an obligatory ornamental detail in the Central American landscape.

The Agonies of President Carter

It is said that Carter wanted--out of propagandistic and "moral" considerations--to change the regime by a face-saving operation and with the extensive use of "pain-killers." As he did with other Latin American dictators, he concluded that immediate measures had to be taken to save the bastion. However, this occurred in a period when the Sandista revolt was

already raging and popular hate had reached its peak. Hence his vacillations and maneuvers and his unworthy contemplation of the genocide unleashed by the regime. He was constantly wondering how to maintain the backbone of the National Guard as a counterweight, and endeavor to find a way to check the revolution which had already reached its apogee. He endeavored to move the Sandinista Front to the background and even split it having started by splitting the opposition, and also (why not?) having asked whether the democratic governments who had actively sided with the rebels could be accused of anything or bribed.

Carter, who had expressed a readiness to convince Somoza, before it was too late, of the advantages of retiring with millions of the plundered dollars, changed his tactics when popular indignation developed into a general strike and then into an armed insurrection, when the SFNL ceased being only a heroic partisan detachment and was becoming a true political vanguard having undisputed recognition among the broad masses and all revolutionaries. Under the patronage of Carter and with the leading role of Brzezinski, the idea was fostered of elections to be held under OAS aegis, however with Somoza to remain in power and with broad powers for the National Guard.

Severe blows were made against the revolt, a true holiday of the people which in many ways had a spontaneous nature. The participants in the revolt recovered from the blows in a short period of time due to the high degree of maturity of the revolutionary crisis. Proof of this was the depth and the scope of the mass struggle and the increased fighting efficiency of the armed forces of the Sandinista movement, as well as the solid aid from the peoples and democratic governments which did not accept the lead of the United States.

All this deprived Carter of any chance of success, although he did succeed in obtaining temporary support from the vacillating circles of the opposition. Some made concessions out of class considerations, and others out of short-sighted opportunism. What proposals were then advanced by the United States? Numerous ones. However, they all came down to the following: in the first place, to unite certain groups of the landowner bourgeoisie and other ex-Somosistas or moderate semi-opposition leaders, to bring together as many forces as possible which could be enticed by this maneuver, and thereby create a curtain which could be decorated in "democratic" colors and offered as an alternative of a popular revolution; secondly, to rescue the personnel and structure of the National Guard which had been created, trained and armed by the United States and which would further strengthen its dominant position.

As for the rest, who could consider realistic a proposal by which the Sandinistas and the people would be confronted with a choice: to put down arms before the intact Guard or to continue the armed struggle against the government decked out in democratic clothing? Or, in a more acceptable variation, to agree that the commanders of this virtually unchanged Guard as well as individual Sandinista leaders would head the command of an

army made up from mercenaries and guerrillas. This last variation seemed improbable and was the equivalent of a trap.

As a working hypothesis it could be accepted that the departure of Somoza would be the beginning of a fundamentally new process, and as a result of the mere change of power the hurricane of popular anger could go beyond the limits of political restraint. All of this equally could lead to more complicated and dangerous consequences, and the new power from the very outset could be impaired and incomplete and weaker than a government created within the limits of a patriotic agreement initially abroad and then in the crucible of the armed popular revolution. Such a resolution to the problem could be the best means for cleaning out the Augean stables.

For achieving these goals, the United States set a policy of drawing out the war. The United States supported air operations which destroyed entire towns and villages, and along with the Somoza artillery killed more than 90,000 persons, women, men and children. Add to this the systematic murders of unarmed citizens as well as many fighters who paid with their lives for the last bloody weeks of the struggle. Among them were representatives from the internationalist heroic Latin American youth. Only then will we have a full picture of the guilt of U.S. imperialism and the heavy responsibility which the imperialist rulers and their advisors bear. This new flood of blood is their handiwork.

The Somoza government was crushed by the heroism of the people and their quick "training in the school of civil war," of which Lenin spoke, and it was conquered by the increased political as well as military strength of the SFNL which had been joined by the other revolutionary detachments, including the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (the communists). The resistance of the Somosistas was also broken as a result of the growing solidarity of the Latin American countries. At the end of 1978 and the start of 1979 this solidarity had a more dynamic nature and rapidly assumed a world-wide scale. Three political events which occurred at the beginning of 1979 created the new prerequisites for a truly popular victory: the National Patriotic Front was formed and then the Provisional Democratic Government of National Rebirth which brought together the three currents of the Sandinista Front under a unified command and common strategy, and the firm conviction of the Latin American revolutionary forces, and in particular in Central America, including many communist parties, to view the Sandinista struggle, in all its aspects and forms, as their own battle. And the results, both in political and military terms as well as on the level of the unitary program and tactical actions, were not long in being felt.

Under these conditions, the U.S. government undertook a desperate attempt to carry out an intervention hiding behind the fig leaf of the OAS, in the manner of what had occurred in the Dominican Republic. It first enlisted the support of the fascist governments in Chile and Uruguay and the reliable Stroessner, and certainly the junior brothers of Somoza from Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as the blessing of the Argentine military government supported by arms deliveries. However on its own "field," in the old

pond of the "shark and the sardines," the United States suffered a tangible defeat, at the same time that the government of national rebirth was recognized by many countries.

In the contemporary world, battles against fascism and tyrannies do and can lead to a crushing defeat for imperialism.

From this viewpoint, for the Carter doctrine, Nicaragua has become a sort of striptease. The supporter of "human rights" has gone no farther than the proposing of limited reforms and flimsy decorations which ultimately must broaden the political, ideological and social base of U.S. rule in the Western Hemisphere or, in other words, raise the moral prestige of the fascist-tyrannical bordello, keeping its keys at the State Department and Pentagon. In this manner he endeavored to prevent possible volcanic eruptions of popular patriotic anger which are building up in our countries.

A Truly Popular Revolution

The democratic revolution in Nicaragua has become a truly popular revolution. The government which has formed includes representatives from all the social and political circles of various casts which fought against Somoza, from the weak middle bourgeoisie to the communists, although the SFNL is the basic force in the government (and this is the uniqueness of Nicaraguan political reality). In terms of its nature, this is a democratic, national-liberation revolution, where national rebirth has been proclaimed as its primary task. However, at the same time this is also a popular revolution which is radical in its forms and which was victorious by the difficult and heroic armed struggle of the entire people.

The Sandinista leadership and the other progressive forces have substantiated their political wisdom, as was pointed out recently by Fidel Castro, in adhering to a realistic, broad and flexible strategy and tactics. In this manner they demonstrated their courage, the faith in the people and foresightedness. These forces have not fallen into the trap of verbal extremism, and have not followed the dangerous path of jumping over sequential stages of the revolution. It appears that they have not discarded any opportunity to acquire allies (as yet unreliable but able to overcome their weaknesses) among the representatives of the most various social strata, and they have utilized also the policy of neutralization. In developing consistently, the revolution should be consolidated, and the people should constantly strengthen (by acquiring experience) their revolutionary awareness. In the rest, the Sandinistas seemingly are aware of the vulnerability of their country's geographic position and realize that imperialism has retreated merely in order to escape from such a crucial defeat. For this reason the revolutionaries have not given way to complacency, which would be too silly, considering that the imperialists know with whom they are involved. Thus they are taking into account the actual balance of class forces and the possible speed and sequence in solving current tasks.

A passion for empty phrases and "leftism," as Lenin stressed, are indications of an infantile disease. They always show a deplorable voluntaristic gap which arises between the vanguard and the masses or a part of the masses. In other words, in employing military terminology, they lead to a breaking of the link between the forward detachments and the remaining part of the army. Recently one of the young commanders whom we know as a person of brilliant theoretical abilities said that political art consists not in subtracting but rather in adding and multiplying. The result of this addition or even multiplication is expressed in a program and in the political line aimed at implementing it. The new government and its representatives have defined this program in the socioeconomic area as a democratic one corresponding to one of the stages of national rebirth. This does not prevent certain basic democratic reforms such as agrarian reform, the nationalization of banks, the establishing of export controls and so forth from becoming extremely important for development and hence for the consolidation of the process. In the area of foreign policy this is echoed in the announcement of a policy of "nonalignment," that is, the carrying out of an independent and sovereign course, a policy of peace and development of relations with all countries, a struggle for political and economic self-determination, and solidarity with everyone fighting for independence and freedom.

In the rest, the Nicaraguan revolution can begin to carry out the approved program on the basis of sound material prerequisites. The Somoza "empire" encompassed all the main economic spheres of this long-suffering country, including financial, industrial, agrarian and trade. Confiscation of the Somoza property as well as the property of his friends, associates, the leaders of the Pretorian Guard, state officials, highly-placed persons and other Somoza "companions" in fleeing from the country has significantly accelerated the democratic process and has provided the government with the basic levers and foundation for the future planning of the economy, without resorting to force and without slowing down the development pace of the process.

However, it is clear that the Nicaraguan revolution is a true and profound popular revolution, that is, the people themselves led by the SFNL, in an alliance with all the anti-Somoza forces, have crushed the bulwark of tyranny, they have thwarted the maneuvers of imperialism, with weapons in hand they have defeated a well-trained and dangerous National Guard, and have established a new democratic power which is working for true national independence and sovereignty.

The "pyramidal" structure of the Somoza economic "empire," where a larger portion of the basic social exploiting stratum had become entwined with the dynasty and its supporters facilitated the carrying out of revolutionary changes. Moreover, the "military-bureaucratic apparatus" of the Somoza state embodied in the National Guard and the Somoza supporters split into pieces under the blows of the revolt. Thus an essential revolutionary task was carried out and which was the "preliminary condition for any true popular revolution."⁶ The basic elements of this apparatus were crushed

by the armed people. The bases of the new state were born in the very midst of the people and the Sandinista army. This state, certainly is not a force which defends only the revolution and the Nicaraguan nation. It must also create the organs for an expression of popular and civil will, it must establish the procedure for the functioning of the economic, legal and political spheres, it must reorganize the educational and public health system, and so forth. And with the exception probably of hypocrites and intent counterrevolutionaries, no one would be intimidated by the fact that at present the basic levers of power are under the control of the revolutionary army and the armed organizations of the people. The latter are also undergoing changes. On the basis of the guerrilla detachments and the irregular armed civil forces, a regular army and security bodies are being formed.

At the same time, the forms of civil power are being improved without hurry or delay. This has happened starting from the very Provisional Democratic Government of National Rebirth in setting up the new bodies under the ministries. Some of them concerned with social and economic questions or agrarian reform, and so forth, were born in the course of the battle and, as under the conditions of any popular revolution, have a dual nature: they are both bodies of the masses and bodies of authority. The rifle on the shoulder of the worker is the guarantee of democracy, felt Lenin.

Regardless of the shed blood and the long list of victims, Nicaragua has repealed the death penalty and there were virtually no executions. Thus was thwarted a campaign which the imperialists and reactionaries intended to start in being prepared to shed crocodile tears over the bloody monsters, the representatives of the National Guard, while they never showed such "sympathy" before toward the unfortunate victims of Somoza.

However it must be considered that this sensible tactic of the Sandinistas, although politically justified, by itself is no guarantee against imperialist conspiracies and counterrevolutionary intrigues from the neighboring countries. Such attempts will undoubtedly be felt, if the revolution continues its course and as the social and political contradictions intensify and the class struggle deepens. Moreover, no one can guarantee that today's allies or friends will not become the most wicked enemies tomorrow. However, it would be stupid to surrender one's weapons to the enemy, to jump ahead or skip stages of the revolution. There is nothing fatal in political activities. The policy should be principled, however at the same time it is also the art of the possible.

To the degree that this policy is correct, so the intrigues and the possibility of aggression by the enemy will be impeded. The history of all revolutions shows this. Statements by certain Sandinista leaders show a clear understanding of this problem by them. Tomas Borge who possesses great prestige as the sole surviving founder of the SFNL, has pointed out: "National unity was a complicated and difficult process, and many factors contributed to the achieving of it. The vanguard role of the Sandinista Front, the discrediting of the tyrant, the barbarian repression and

disruption; the interests of all strata of the population, including a larger portion of the bourgeoisie, have been encroached upon by the dictatorship. The economic contradictions gradually caused political contradictions." "The class struggle cannot be 'frozen,' as it is related to inevitably arising contradictions."⁷

However, the same Borge on 5 August 1973 stated: "Possibly this national unity cannot be preserved forever or for all times. But we will undertake all the necessary conditions to maintain it. We will show a very flexible and serious approach to carrying out our tasks. If artificial differences are disregarded, we are hopeful that many of those elements which today comprise national unity will move along with us for an extended time and, possibly, to the very end."⁸

Nicaragua and Certain Problems of Our Revolution

The experience of Nicaragua leads one to other thoughts. Fidel Castro was able to promptly eliminate any possible imperialist provocations as well as the absurd uncritical comparisons, stating that Nicaragua will not be a second Cuba but rather a new Nicaragua. Thus he came out against revolutionary impatience and sectarian extremism which always comes down to the search for parallels and skipping stages of the revolution.

The Uniqueness of Revolutions

How easy it would be to bring out the common traits, if it was merely a question of obvious things! First of all, there is the significance of the historical struggle against U.S. imperialism and the radical nature of the victorious vanguard forces and the forms of the popular armed revolution with the leading role of guerrilla warfare. As was very well put by Fidel: "No two revolutions are alike. They cannot be. There are many common features...but our own problems are not a precise copy of the problems confronting them."⁹

Here are intertwined two theoretical and strategic truths which have a common nature and truly depict the Latin American process. One should note the danger of any copying or any attempts to ignore the inimitable and unique features, in resorting to a thoughtless comparison with any historical model or scheme.

Each revolution comes about due to the action of definite common laws deriving from its nature and manifested in historically concrete and always inimitable and original forms. Regardless of the evermore tangible difference in the Latin American revolutionary process in accord with the particular features of each country or subregion, there are common traits and a definite sociopolitical similarity which are explained by our history and by the fact that we are opposed by the same main enemy: U.S. imperialism and the strata of the upper bourgeoisie and latifundistas, the lackeys or allies of the foreign suppressors.

Precisely this reality determines the relative complexity of the nature and motivating forces of the revolution as well as the possible allies of the working class and the development of the revolution according to definite phases. Hence it is not difficult to conclude that the Latin American revolution in terms of its nature is a democratic and anti-imperialist one, and that in many countries, considering the level of capitalist development and the high proportional amount of the working class, it represents, potentially and dialectically, a single historical process with the socialist revolution. However, this thesis which is basically correct is nothing more than a truism, since in practice everything assumes unique features. There are involved intertwinings of the class struggle, the most diverse social and political forms which have all sorts of shadings and which include, in turn, phases within each of the stages, different periods or different paths of approaching them, differences over questions of political organization, the relations between parties and leaders, as well as those which arise in the course of the developing political situation, and differences of opinion over the problem of the diversity of forms--more or less peaceful or violent--for assuming power. And the further a real revolution is carried out, a revolution which does not conform well to textbooks or hackneyed formulas, the greater the difficulties, shadings and differences of opinion. Let these difficulties be blessed! This does not prevent the existence of the most important common tasks on a continental scale which unify our peoples and determine the necessity of unity.

Without fearing to repeat myself, it can be said that the arising differences are most directly related to the level of capitalist development, to the forms of imperialist domination, and, certainly, to the historical and political features which, in turn, assume the existence of differences in social psychology. Thus, neighboring nations can differ greatly in terms of all these parameters. Proof of this is Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Although in terms of their geographic features and the so-called geopolitical ties they spin, using this pseudoscientific term, in the same orbit with the United States, Nicaragua here can be an example.

All of this brings about features of a different type. It is possible to detect--in a most general form--differences which exist in the structure of the ruling classes and between the financial, monopolistic bourgeoisie which controls the industrial, trade and agrarian sphere and which is opposed by a modern-type proletariat (this is characteristic for a number of South American countries and for Mexico), and the weak bourgeoisie of certain countries in Central America and the Caribbean Basin, including, certainly, Nicaragua.

In advance it can be said that the driving forces of a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution are the working class, the peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia, and the students, as well as broad middle classes.

Depending upon the particular features of the political situation and the intensity of the class struggle, some strata of the middle bourgeoisie

still called national can be won over to the side of the revolution or repelled, while others can be neutralized. However this, while saying a great deal, still does not say everything. At the present phase of the Nicaraguan revolution, the bourgeoisie is participating as one of the driving forces, and this is a phenomenon which was not observed in Cuba. The revolution has also been supported from outside by governments, by parties and by leaders of the upper national reformist bourgeoisie.

Although on a preliminary level, it seems generally valid to emphasize that in elaborating an antifascist line or the ways to overthrow cruel tyrannies which have a weak sociopolitical support, it is possible and essential to involve bourgeois strata in the general patriotic and democratic struggle. Moreover, if contradictions arise with imperialism, the basic support of fascism and the tyrannies, the relationships of the broadest social strata with the imperialists can be sharply aggravated and become important factors in the achieving of national independence.

The tasks can be of one sort under the conditions of a constitutional development of events, and of another in the struggle against fascism or local regressive tyrannies. For this reason, in the latter instance, the entire system of alliances of the working class is broadened. And this system can develop into a unity of actions or merging with the broad strata of the bourgeoisie.

In actuality here one can clearly see an entire stage in the struggle for general democratic aims, for sovereignty and national independence. Under certain circumstances such opportunities are even greater if one also considers the policy of governments which are not fully anti-imperialist but which oppose, although with hesitation, imperialism, as occurred with certain governments which supported the Sandinista Front.

Nicaraguan reality seemingly is realizing a phase of very broad unity, democracy and national rebirth. It is a phase fraught and encircled by danger, however embodied in life in the course of its own successful experience. This example is of very important significance and forces us to recall the recent past. The antifascist and antidictatorial strategy which the Uruguayan Broad Front and our party set on the eve of 27 June 1973 and which demonstrated all its importance after the coup and particularly after the Chilean tragedy, has certain common traits, although also differs greatly from the examined one.

The creation of the Broad Front conformed to the strategic goal of uniting all the leftist forces as well as the Christian Democrats around a progressive democratic and anti-imperialist program. On the eve of the coup, when the nation was in a state of crisis as a result of the action of the military and civilian reaction facilitated by politically irrational terroristic acts, Gen Sereñi proposed the slogan of national reconciliation. This was a means for regrouping all the civilian and military groups not interested in the coup on a broader basis, for the purpose of salvaging the remnants of democracy and altering a dangerous balance of forces. This was a

change in tactics aimed at mobilizing the broad masses and it assumed the forms of a new strategy after the state coup. The immediate task was not advancement to a more progressive democracy but merely the restoration of democracy. It was a question of a very broad social and political unity and the unifying of civil and military, religious and secular groups around all the parties and organizations which opposed fascism. In this unity the Broad Front has been and remained its basic core.

The necessity of defeating fascism the introduction of which ended in 1975 meant primarily the restoration of freedoms and rights and the advancing of a program with minimal demands capable of mobilizing all the people. Subsequently the subcommittee of our party at a session held in December 1977, confronted with the national catastrophe which was accompanied by fascist crimes, proposed working out a common plan of national rebirth in the aim of its subsequent realization after the defeat of fascism.

As never before, victory depends upon the unity and drawing together of the antidictatorial forces and upon the decisive nature of the struggle. The domestic and foreign isolation of the regime has already created the prerequisites for its complete collapse. The democracy of which its supporters speak and which should not be confused with the farce planned in accord with the "time schedule of the generals," will only be authentic when the struggle of the people assumes its full scope and finds a response in the society, when the worker and popular movement reaches higher levels, and when its militant actions shake the fascist structures in the state system and in all political and social life and will contribute to their collapse. The cruelty of the regime continuously confronts the nation with the great dilemmas which Iran and Nicaragua had to resolve.

The army commander, Gen Querolo, and who, because of this, is the chief figure in the regime, traveled to Buenos Aires in order to state his concern over the democratic changes on the continent. The newspaper EL DIA which holds militant anticommunist positions and is the voice of the patient and simultaneously censored opposition, wrote the following on the question of the popular victory in Nicaragua (it extracted lessons and gave advice): "The Somoza dictatorship...having blocked off all paths to the political evolution of the country, gave way to a violent reaction which sooner or later will still appear." "Is a rightist dictatorship," it asked, "the means which is capable of saving us from communism? Can it rule out of sight of the people and not seek public opinion? What is the result of closing off the paths of political evolution?" EL DIA answers, in turning to the events in Iran and Nicaragua: "Security can be based only on freedom." We regret that we cause harm to the newspaper EL DIA in stating the virtually complete coincidence of our viewpoints. A fascist terror leads a country only to a catastrophe or civil war. Only freedom without any exceptions and the restoration of democracy can save Uruguay.

The Fundamental Question of the Choice of a Path

The victory of the popular revolution in Nicaragua, like the earlier and impressive Cuban example and somewhat later, an example of a different sort, the success of Popular Unity in Chile, raise the problem of the selection of the path of the revolution, or, in other words, that aspect of the strategic line which is related to the forms and methods of the assumption of power.

We will not take up this question extensively; this has already been done repeatedly by us in reports, books and various documents. First of all it is essential to clarify just what revolution we have in mind. Is it a democratic and antifascist one, or a democratic and anti-imperialist one, and so forth, or are we speaking about a socialist revolution. A "peaceful" or an "armed" path can be possible or not according to one or another revolutionary stage, as the history of all revolutions has shown. For example, the transition to socialism can be carried out without a civil war or insurrection after a democratic and popular armed victory. Or it can occur in the manner which this happened in February and October 1917, when both revolutions were victorious as a result of an armed insurrection. In opposition to this at present the real possibilities are increasing for a so-called peaceful path to socialism, that is, the process of transformations, democratic and socialist changes, without using the forms of armed struggle. In all of this there are numerous nuances.

At the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1970's, Cuba and Chile demonstrated the two paths of revolution on the continent. The armed victory in Nicaragua does not obviate the Chilean experience, or, in other words, the possibility that the peoples of certain countries can arrive at socialism, using different democratic forms and without necessarily resorting to a civil war or armed action. The cause of the Chilean tragedy cannot be explained by one or the other path.

The victory of the Nicaraguan revolt which started by a fierce guerrilla struggle forces us to return to the events in Latin America which occurred after the Cuban revolution in the 1960's, however not to stumble over the same stones. Theoretical thought develops or stagnates depending upon practice, and for this reason it is always a good thing to critically reassess one's own experience.

As is known, we have always considered that the basic way of the revolutionary process in Latin America is the armed seizure of power given the imperialist intervention and the situation which has come to exist in many countries. Moreover, after Cuba partisan warfare which has long historical traditions in Latin America added to (with qualitatively new forms) the arsenal of our democratic and anti-imperialist struggle. It was essential to study the given experience and employ it critically in Latin American practice. Among other factors, precisely this circumstance always caused us to view the Sandinista movement with understanding and respect, starting from its very inception.

The mistakes and tragedies which occurred after the Cuban revolution in various points had their specific causes. Attempts were undertaken to repeat the Cuban feat without proper consideration of the very rich political experience of the Cuban revolution and which we at one time called the strategic breadth of thought of Fidel Castro, that is, from Moncada to socialist revolution.

This copying of experience which occurred inopportunistically and often in a caricature form can be generalized from its individual traits. In the first place, the complete ignoring of crisis factors indicating a revolutionary or prerevolutionary condition in one or another situation; the disregarding of the balance of forces or the degree of readiness of the masses; the underestimating of the political situation and differences existing between regimes, when countries with democratic institutions and tyrannies or fascist states were put on the same level, and because of this indifference was shown to whether or not the paths of legal and democratic work were closed off; the proposing of an elitist concept of elected groups who proclaimed themselves to be the vanguard and who forgot that the revolution can be only the handiwork of the masses of people; the repetition ultimately of old pre-Marxist and Blanquist ideas; the easy sliding into political sensationalism and terrorism; secondly, the exalting of method to the detriment of class realities, theory and concrete political practice. And as a result of this, the sectarianism and a rejection of alliances and a policy leading to them, infantilism (an underestimating of trade union, parliamentary, propaganda and mass work); and, thirdly, a hostile attitude toward the communist and workers parties all the more unjustified as it had gained a theoretical basis, even if there had been mistakes and deviations among the parties.

We could continue the critical comments.... However, this explosion of guerrilla movements at the same time pointed to a radicalization of the broad middle strata, to a snapping of patience for imperialist oppression, and to a rise in extreme dissatisfaction with its creatures, the bloody tyrannies and other rotten regimes. Even the mistakes made were contradictory proof that Latin America had entered an age of revolutions. However, we have already voiced the idea that in the 1960's not the possibility of guerrilla warfare as a method but rather the guerrilla mentality was bankrupt in Latin America.

The guerrilla method which has deep historical revolutionary traditions was brilliantly used by Fidel Castro and at present it has been employed in the difficult struggle which preceded the Nicaraguan victory, and has created the prerequisites for the organizing of a truly popular vanguard.

Let us add one more thing to what has been said. Regardless of their tragic finish, not all the guerrillas in the 1960's were doomed to defeat beforehand. The very Sandinista Front which was born in those same years, lived through two severe military defeats before resuming the guerrilla warfare which brought it to victory. Without understating the importance of essential military ability, it can be said with certainty that the task of winning power is primarily a political task.

All of this must be rethought, and certainly not in order to come down again with the old diseases of a guerrilla mentality and wretched ultra-revolutionariness or looking down upon those who under conditions which may be suitable think of winning freedom and happiness for their motherland with weapons in hand.

The victory in Nicaragua, like the other heroic efforts of the peoples fighting for their liberation is thought-provoking and forces us to reflect on all these questions.

FOOTNOTES

¹Until recently an evil rumor had been spread and which had been "picked up" by certain Latin Americans that Fidel Castro had turned his back on Latin America and under Soviet pressure was involved with Africa. But now Brzezinski is holding forth that Cuba is resuming the deliveries of military equipment in the Caribbean Basin. See LE MONDE, Paris, 14 August 1979.

²GRANMA, Havana, 26 July 1979.

³Ibid.

⁴The moral qualities of this monster are best commented on by his protectors. "Somosa is a son of a bitch, however he is our son of a bitch," commented a prominent American once, in defending him.

⁵"I have never ceased following the United States in everything," complained Somosa to journalists, already incarcerated in his "bunker."

⁶V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 39.

⁷L'HUMANITÉ, Paris, 13 August 1979.

⁸L'UNITÀ, Rome, 6 August 1979.

⁹GRANMA, 26 July 1979.

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REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA ANALYZED

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[Article by S. A. Mikoyan: "On the Particular Features of the Revolution in Nicaragua and Its Lessons from the Viewpoint of the Theory and Practice of the Liberation Movement (Concluding Statement)"]

[Text] The Nicaraguan revolution undoubtedly belongs among the events which will force us to review certain well-established concepts and, having sacrificed them, rethink the basic lessons which actual reality presents. And although the paradox that "the new is the well forgotten old" often contains a grain of truth, in the given instance obviously everything comes down to one thing: the experience of the victory of the patriots in Nicaragua is of enormous international significance.

In the course of our discussion, a serious complete analysis has been made of the new features which this victory has introduced into the treasure-house of revolutionary theory and practice. At the same time, and here let us pay tribute to the paradox, it has affirmed the truthfulness of certain "old" concepts which seemed refuted (as it has turned out, without sufficient grounds).

I feel it wise to attempt to sum up those elements of the analysis made which seem the most significant (here without in any way shorting the profoundness of the concepts and the accuracy of the observations which remain outside the confines of this review, as otherwise it would take a large book).

What are the basic particular features of the revolution in Nicaragua? What are the problems which have been posed or already solved by it? I feel that in answering these questions it is essential to isolate two basic stages: to 19 July 1979, and after this date.

Thus, can the path of the revolution which ended with a difficult but nevertheless glorious victory, a victory which cost many lives and much suffering, over a bloody dictatorial regime be described by the posing and solving of such problems?

The question of an Armed or Peaceful Path

For the fourth time in the 20th century (Mexico in 1910-1917, Bolivia in 1952, Cuba in 1959, and Nicaragua in 1979) and for the second time over the last 20 years, an armed people has overthrown an oligarchical regime and rule by the most reactionary forces of society.

At the same time, there is not a single example of a victorious revolution carried out peacefully on the continent (there are only successful peaceful variations of evolutionary development). In a number of instances where patriotic military governments have come to power (Peru, Panama and elsewhere), there has been no bloodshed, however the use of military force has been implicit, that is, the path was also an armed one.

Incidentally, when Marxist-Leninists speak about the armed path, they certainly do not ipso facto mean the use of weapons. It can be merely a question of military superiority, and the ideal version is the retreating of the ruling circles when confronted by a superiority of revolutionary forces without bloodshed. This was repeatedly stated by V. I. Lenin, and in essence this was the experience of the first months of Soviet power until the bourgeoisie and the landowners started the Civil War against the young Soviet republic. The thesis "the revolution should be able to defend itself" clearly shows the role which weapons should play.

Thus, the conclusion, it would seem, is rather clear. As yet only the armed path has led to the victory of revolutions in Latin America. And the Nicaraguan experience affirms what had been considered refuted by some after the death of Che Guevara and the defeat of a number of other guerrilla movements.

However this conclusion must not be absolutized, that is, it must not be applied to all countries, ignoring their particular features and disregarding one or another period in their development. Such an absolutizing in no way would be a valid use of the experience of the victorious revolution. Rather this should cause us to recall the words of V. I. Lenin that any truth can be reduced to the absurd.

The Question of Diversity and the Combining of Various Forms and Methods of Struggle

It means little to recognize or deny the armed path; it must be correctly interpreted and understood. Only then does the "recognition" or "non-recognition" make political sense. For to distort a concept, to interpret it incorrectly and then easily refute it is an undertaking for sophists and not for politicians.

To view the armed path solely as the organizing of guerrilla detachments and an attempt to defeat regular military units only by guerrilla forces would mean a vulgarization of revolutionary theory. To propose a concept of a "guerrilla center" or a "small motor" as the pure water of guerrilla

thinking is very simple but fundamentally incorrect. And both certain supporters as well as opponents of these concepts proceed precisely from such positions.

A seriously and scientifically understood armed path of revolution presupposes the obligatory use of the most diverse forms and methods of struggle including those which are usually considered inherent to the peaceful path, that is, organizational and explanatory work in the masses by publishing printed works, radio broadcasting and direct contact with the people, participation in the strike movement, the elaboration of programs and slogans which are comprehensible to the people and conform to their aspirations (and to the demands of the moment!), the carrying out of at least certain of these slogans (as is possible, for example, in liberated areas), and so forth.

Their correct combination, interaction and synchronizing, all of this under certain conditions (not always and not everywhere!) increases by many-fold the role of the "guerrilla center" and starts up the "large motor," that is, helps it become a catalyst of a revolutionary situation.

The Problem of the Revolutionary Vanguard

The military-political fronts of the sort of the "Movement of 26 July" in Cuba and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SFNL) in Nicaragua have shown (and now can be considered proven) that under certain conditions they are capable of taking over for the political parties of the proletariat as a revolutionary vanguard. Fidel Castro in one of his speeches explained not only the possibility of such a phenomenon but also its inevitability, or more accurately the absence of any other possibility under the specific conditions of Cuba in the 1950's. A similar situation developed in Nicaragua in the 1960's and 1970's.

The political activities of these fronts which are based upon a close link with the masses and on military and military-organizational power were so effective that they, being initially purely military organizations, gradually de facto assumed the functions of political parties.

And conversely, in both instances, no political party, including the communists, could even come close to them on the level of comparing the potential of the vanguard. Clearly, the question is not in the subjective personal qualities of the various political leaders, although this did play a role both in Cuba and in Nicaragua (in truth, differently). The point is in those objective conditions which are created in the countries of the continent. Consequently, it is possible to speak about a new type of revolutionary vanguard and of its patterns under the conditions of a number of Latin American countries in our times. An understanding of this objective pattern, of course, should help us in more correctly finding our way in assessing the many national domestic-political situations. It must be remembered that the title of "vanguard" is not given in perpetuity, that it must be constantly justified in the course of the class struggle, and that it can be lost as well as gained.

The Concept of "Ultraleftism"

The revolution in Nicaragua clearly showed the lag of research on political processes in Latin America behind reality even on such an important question as analyzing the concepts of "ultraleftist" and "ultraleftism." For 15 years there has been a hazy understanding of this term and what it involves, and it is used both aptly and ineptly in order to praise someone or run him down.

Obviously it is high time to make clear for ourselves that revolutionaries and pseudorevolutionaries cannot be put on the same level. The same holds true for the heroes who "storm the skies" and demagogues; people who have enriched their approach to the struggle by the experience of the world revolutionary movement, and numbskulls who are incapable or do not wish to rise above the primitive appeals to absurd terror; finally, simple honest fighters and dubious adventurers who have been caught up in the struggle and speculate with "revolutionary" phrases for dishonest purposes.

All the former must be removed from the category of "ultraleftists" and the term "leftist radical revolutionaries" or "revolutionary democrats" applied to them. And then only the above-listed types of pseudorevolutionaries will remain as "ultraleftists."

It is not a question of excommunicating someone from the revolution, merely everyone must be put in his place. It cannot be excluded that some of the true "ultraleftists" will be able to overcome their mistakes and raise their ideological and political level enough to merit the title of revolutionary. Certainly this will be better for the cause of the revolution....

The Problem of Unity and the Question of the Hierarchy of Unities

While the Chilean tragedy showed, in particular, the necessity of unity by the very defeat of the revolutionary process, that is, "from the opposite," the Nicaraguan triumph demonstrates the inexhaustible opportunities which come from unity in the broadest sense of this word.

However, first of all it is advisable to be aware of just what type of unity, unity with whom and for the sake of what. The answers to these questions logically lead us to another question, that of the hierarchy of unities. In actuality, if the aim is the realization of a revolution, then in first place there should be a unity of the leftist forces working for this common cause but which do not agree with one another on the questions of tactics, forms and methods or which are divided by some subjective factors. If it is a question of reforms or even of the self-preservation of the leftist movement (and on the continent such situations do arise), then it is quite natural to put in first place a unity with the liberal bourgeoisie, with the reformists of various "colors," with the ruling circles or with the "traditional" parties, and so forth.

It is all to the good if, without abandoning the revolutionary goals and without sacrificing the unity of leftist forces, it is possible to broaden the limits of the unity and incorporate in it the opposition circles of other views and ideological currents. Precisely this occurred in Nicaragua. However it is important to state that precisely the strengthening of the unity among the leftist forces and the general growth of the struggle on this basis made possible the alliances with the remaining opposition to the dictatorship without sacrificing the main thing, the will for decisive struggle and the interests of the masses standing behind the revolutionary currents.

Precisely in Nicaragua one could observe simultaneously the lamentable examples of refusing an alliance with the left for the sake of coexistence with the right and this led to a rejection of real actions for the sake of passivity concealed by "theoretical" accusations of the revolutionaries and to the loss of support by the masses.

The Elaboration of a Realistic Program

The program which the revolutionaries propose should consider the necessity of putting the broadest social base under the revolutionary movement, and the importance of "addition and multiplication, and not subtraction." It should be as clear as possible for the broad masses of the people. This means that there is no reason to give all the fine points. In the first place, the details and fine points for the broad masses merely obscure the basic sense of the proposed changes; secondly, a careful deciphering of the program's provisions provides a greater risk of causing infinite disputes over wordings or particulars.

Of course, it is in no way a question of any "obscuring," rather it is a question of proposing the main tasks and the fundamental problems of the current moment.

The program should define, first of all, the immediate goals. In this instance it will unite a maximum number of supporters around it. In addition, as was correctly stated recently by a leader of the Venezuelan United Left, "does it make any sense without reaching the bridge to theorize about what will be on the other side of the river, when it is clearly more logical to first cross the bridge?"

The Nicaraguan experience has shown how broad can be the national unity around a truly realistic program as proposed by the Sandinista Front. It was supported by the middle classes, by a portion of the clergy, and ultimately by a larger portion of the bourgeoisie, without mentioning the working class, the peasantry and the rural proletariat.

Providing a Favorable International Situation

The effect on the international situation should be composed of two basic components: in the first place, the receiving of support and aid in various

forms from the broadest possible circle of friends and allies; secondly, the isolating of opponents for the purpose of preventing direct intervention by them.

The first component is a direct continuation of the policy of broad social and political alliances but turned "outwards" and carried out on an international scale.

The second component requires a careful and most realistic comparison of the limits of one's own possibilities and the possibilities of one's enemies. It is also important to consider the limits of restraint of the enemies of the revolution and understand where the limit lies between their help to the forces of counterrevolution and direct intervention in its favor. One must understand precisely what could provoke a transition from one to the other as well as how to use reasonable or farsighted circles in the enemy camp for impeding the efforts of the hawks.

The necessity of sober and well thought out diplomacy of such a sort could scarcely be doubted by anyone. However it would be difficult to name another example when on the continent the revolutionary forces have carried it out so successfully.

One cannot help but rejoice in the fact that all this was done without fundamental compromises and without sacrificing the basic ideals of the liberation movement.

The Objective International Factors

Their role must also not be underestimated. It is difficult to assume that Nicaraguan events right up to 19 July 1979 could have occurred before a decisive change in the balance of forces between the two world systems, before the victory of the Cuban revolution, and so forth. Since much has been written about this, let us merely take up in greater detail the clearly apparent fact of the erosion of the OAS as a punitive mechanism in the hands of U.S. imperialism.

In the given instance this erosion is based not only on the presence of close ties between the rebels and the governmental spheres in a number of Latin American states. Such ties did not exist, for instance, with such nations of the Andean group as Colombia, Bolivia and Ecuador (it may be remembered that in Colombia there are guerrilla detachments against which the government troops at times carry out active operations). These ties did not exist either with the Dominican Republic or many other states. Undoubtedly a role was also played by such a factor as the rapidly growing desire to revise the entire system of unequal economic and political relations in the Western Hemisphere.

For precisely this reason so much effort was required at one time by the U.S. State Department for carrying out the policy of isolating Cuba and for precisely the same reason this policy quickly collapsed, although far from all the governments in the hemisphere sympathized with the new Cuba.

An understanding of the occurring shifts halted the White House on the very threshold of the decision to intervene. It was clear that the carrying out of an invasion would threaten either the immediate and complete collapse of the OAS or other losses which could not be compensated for by a "second Vietnam" in Central America.

Naturally, the objective factors did not depend upon the Nicaraguan revolutionaries, but what did depend on them was how they would correctly realize and consider and what conclusions they would draw for their practical line.

Now let us turn to the period after victory. This period began recently, and for this reason an analysis of it is difficult. However it is equally important for the destiny of the revolution. Generally the particular features of the transitional period are much less studied than the theory of revolution itself. This is all the more understandable as in the period after victory the specific features of one or another country are more felt, the maintaining of the unity of revolutionary forces is riskier, and the factors which depend little upon short-term volitional efforts are more apparent.

The Solution to the Fundamental Question of Power

The disregarding or ignorance of Lenin's thesis on the role of power in any revolution (or the impossibility of carrying it out) has played a fatal role in the outcome of many sociopolitical coups of the most diverse nature. Quite recently the 3-year period of the Chilean revolutionary process taught us a new lesson, and under rather unusual conditions, where the "separation of powers" became not merely a legal concept, but a political reality. One could watch how initially the excellently conceived changes were impeded or nullified, and then the central legislative and legal bodies began an offensive against executive power which was forced to go over, as is said, to a "solitary defense." But probably even more important was the lack of bodies of revolutionary power on the spot.

The question consists primarily not in the development pace of the changes, as certain revolutionaries feel at times, not in the effectiveness of the measures taken, and not in the breadth and scale of the economic reforms, but rather in the dependable ensuring of the entire (or the maximally possible) completeness of power. Precisely in this, ultimately, lies the key to carrying out changes not on paper but in fact, and a guarantee for the reliability and irreversibility of revolutionary victories.

In Nicaragua this was immediately carried out. And the setting up of the Sandinista defense committees meant a rapid mastering of real power on the spot even before the constituting of the new local administrative bodies.

The Breaking of the Old State Apparatus

Obviously the breaking up of the entire apparatus which served the previous regime creates maximum favorable conditions for reinforcing the victory. V. I. Lenin also wrote about this. In any instance, such a breaking up is completely essential when the new power replaces a frankly antipopular, terroristic regime, all elements of which to one degree or another have been compromised and contaminated by a spirit of betrayal of popular interests, crimes and corruption. Under these conditions, their preservation in practical terms is even impossible.

However, probably the question could be settled differently under the conditions of the "peaceful path." But how? The same example of Chile indicates that as yet an answer has not been found. It is not to be excluded that some other revolution will find specific measures for the control of the new power over the old apparatus. The example of Nicaragua affirms the advisability of a decisive breaking up of at least the basic elements of the apparatus.

Attitude Toward the Army

In the given instance, the armed forces were the element of the state apparatus most loyal to the dictator, and for this reason were simply replaced by a new army. During the period when the struggle had not yet entered the decisive stage, the Sandinistas did not exclude a compromise of expelling from the National Guard the officers and all those who had sullied themselves by direct crimes against the people. But very quickly, after the victory it was still essential--albeit gradually, not all at once and not simultaneously--to replace the personnel of the armed forces and the former guardsmen by soldiers of the new formation.

However on this question the experience of Nicaragua is most applicable to dictatorial regimes which are based on an army of the Pretorian Guard type. In a majority of nations on the continent, the problem of the army will obviously be settled differently. Then the armed forces will be split up and the best, patriotic elements will be brought over to the side of the revolution.

The Maintaining of Unity on a New Basis

The realization of this thesis is scarcely possible in the absolute sense. However, the process of seeking out ways for the maximum possible preservation of unity is extremely important. It is simpler in the stage of the rebirth of the nation and will grow more complicated with subsequent advancement, for more alternatives and differences will appear on the pace of such advancement, its direction, and so forth.

Here the key aspect will be, most certainly, economic policy. As yet we are seeing program concepts which are optimum from the viewpoint of maintaining unity. And these concepts are not of a tactical nature, that is,

they are not specifically designed merely to prevent the loss of allies. The point is that they are a fundamental position which is viewed as the only correct one from the viewpoint of the interests of economic development.

A Sober Economic Policy

The nationalization of the property of the Somoza clan and his henchmen has created a solid state sector which as a whole for a very extended period will be sufficient for the new Nicaragua. Moreover, the banking system and certain other key sectors have been nationalized, as provided in the program. As for the rest, private entrepreneurship will be preserved in industry, trade and in other economic sectors. Thus, possibly, there will be a classic three-sector economy.

It provides several beneficial aspects:

In the first place, the best conditions are created for the rapid rebirth of the country;

Secondly, the "bottlenecks" inherent to the old economy will be more easily overcome;

Thirdly, the state will not have to spend money, forces and energy on replacing what already exists;

Fourthly, a broad social base of the revolution will be preserved, as there will be no rupture with the middle classes, and in particular, with the "traditional" petty bourgeoisie (artisans, craftsmen, small traders, and so forth), and even with the middle bourgeoisie.

At present there are no grounds to feel that over a very extended period of development, the three-sector economy could be harmed. In truth, here not everything depends upon the revolutionary leadership. On the contrary, usually the acceleration of changes and the skipping of stages occur because of a sharp counteroffensive by the reactionary forces, that is, contrary to the initial plans of the revolutionaries.

Here it is to the point to remember that "war communism" in Soviet Russia was caused precisely by a war. The basic contours of the nation's economy as they developed in October 1917-February 1918 were very similar to the NEP [New Economic Policy] which, as is known, was introduced in 1921.

Tolerance of Foreign Capital

The anti-imperialist nature of the revolution must not be understood as an imperative for the complete expulsion of foreign capital. It is not merely a question that such a path would do immediate harm to economic development and which could be compensated for only much later, having succeeded in causing a good deal of damage to the cause of the revolution. The point

also is that the new nature of real political power also alters the role of foreign capital, assumes its use and even dictates the advisability of attracting it, however under conditions which are to be determined by the new sovereign government.

As far as one can judge, Managua is not planning a broad nationalization of foreign capital. A certain restriction of it will occur on a much smaller scale than in many other developing countries which do not reject the capitalist path of development. This restriction concerns a number of key sectors. As a whole, in principle recognition is given to the advisability and correctness of employing foreign capital, its functioning in those sectors where it already exists, and even admission into certain sectors where it has not yet penetrated. In the last instance, in truth, differences should arise which are also usual for the developing countries. Foreign capital certainly at the outset is unenthusiastic about becoming involved in the sphere of the state sector. But over time, as experience indicates, such differences are smoothed over.

Thus, in Nicaragua, from our viewpoint, an experiment is being set up of an exceptionally interesting and possibly still unique variation of a people's democratic revolution. A model of the transitional period is being worked out in which the economic positions of neither the national nor the foreign bourgeoisie will be seriously infringed upon.

Pluralism in Policy

Both numerous statements as well as the program documents of the new Nicaraguan government show the intention to maintain a pluralistic system. Its practical activities also show this. (Naturally, this should not apply to the forces and currents which ignore the right of the people to a free expression of will and which thereby place themselves outside this pluralism.) Under Latin American conditions, the recognition and realization of pluralism are of enormous significance for many reasons.

The concept of pluralism meets the spirit of the struggle for democracy which is being waged by the peoples of many nations on the continent (for example, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Haiti and elsewhere), where rightist, authoritarian military dictatorships are in power.

A struggle for a deepening of democracy is being waged by progressive forces in other countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and elsewhere), and pluralism is a component part of their programs over an extended period, including the transition to a socialist path of development.

At the same time, pluralism in the economy and politics takes away from the counterrevolutionary forces and their imperialist allies a favorite propaganda ploy: the bugbear of the "red threat," "communist dictatorship," and so forth.

for all these reasons it can be felt that the concept of political pluralism, like economic pluralism, understood as one of the forms of class struggle or, in any event, the defending of interests by the various classes, aside from practical expediency, is of fundamental significance.

Finally, literally several words about the international significance of the very fact of the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua.

It is easy to understand what reverberation this victory is having on the continent where just 6 years ago the Chilean tragedy occurred and where the first half of the 1970's has been marked by a chain of reactionary coups and by the attempt of the counterrevolution to go over to a frontal offensive. The failure of these attempts has begun to be clearly felt in recent years. However, precisely 19 July 1979 became the starting point of a new stage in the history of the liberation movement of the Latin American peoples.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ATTACKS U.S. EXPANSION IN NEAR EAST, NORTH AFRICA

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 32, 8 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by I. Orlenkov, professor: "A Rebuff to U.S. Expansion"]

[Text] The aggressive aims of American capital in the Near East and North Africa, and the Arab peoples' struggle against them are disclosed in Alexander Osipov's book "U.S. Economic Expansion in Arab Countries." The book has been issued by the chief editorial staff of Eastern literature of the publishing house "Nauka."

The main magnet drawing imperialist monopolies to the given region is the enormous oil and gas resources of the Arab countries. The book talks about the penetration of U.S. oil concerns, which arose with great speed in the period between the First and Second World Wars, in these countries and about the expansion of their activities in the post-war years. In 1940 they obtained 2.48 million tons of oil here, and in 1960 they got 118.8 million. This means that in two decades U.S. monopolies increased their gain of Arab oil by more than 47 times.

The great amount of factual material which is contained in the publication shows how toward the end of the fifties the American capitalists, having crowded out their competitors from Britain and France, firmly established themselves in the Near East and North Africa, extorting hundreds of millions in profit from the Arab countries. In the sixties the positions of U.S. monopolies were further strengthened; American banks were actively included in the mechanism of economic exploitation of Arab countries.

The oil and trade expansion, in addition to the banks' operations, was supplemented with the offer of "American help" to a number of Arab states, thus enslaving their economy. As a rule, with the condition of receiving "help" came the reduction of customs barriers in trade with the U.S. and the cessation of exports of "strategic goods," a list compiled by the American Government, to the USSR and other socialist countries. All aspects of U.S. economic expansion, concludes L. Osipov, had a negative influence on the economy of the Arab countries and conflicted with their national interests.

The struggle of the peoples of the Near East and North Africa for limitations on the positions of foreign capital, for control over the industrial operations of oil concessions, for economic independence is elucidated in the book.

The oil-extracting countries delivered a sharp blow to the interests of U.S. big capital, having won from them the right to determine the level of prices and concessive payments and having established control over their operations. The oil boycott and other sanctions undertaken by these countries in response to U.S. support for Israeli aggression during the '73 war were a clear manifestation of the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The success of the anti-imperialist measures of the Arab countries, it is underscored in the book, to a great extent ensures their cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Depending on the all-round help and cooperation of the socialist community, these countries were able to lay the foundation of a modern economy, train needed national cadres, and rebuff the armed intrigues of imperialism and Zionism.

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INTERNATIONAL

VAKHRAMAYEV BOOK ANALYZES SOCIALIST STRUGGLE FOR DETENTE

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 80 p 3

[Review by Yu. Petrovskiy of the book, "The Struggle of the Socialist Commonwealth for Relaxation of International Tensions" by A. V. Vakhramayev, Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Moscow, 1979]

[Text] The resolution of the June (1980) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the report delivered there by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev quite properly generated extensive reaction and intense interest of all the peoples of the world. Under the current conditions of the intensification of the international situation, our party stressed once again the necessity for intensifying and strengthening detente; it indicated the real opportunities for preserving detente as the dominant trend in world politics. Also devoted to resolving these questions was the conference held in May of this year in Warsaw of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member nations, on the anniversary of the latter. The socialist nations confirmed their good will and determination to deepen the process of relaxation of international tensions in every way possible, and pointed to clear-cut guidelines, the attainment of which will advance the cause of strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world, and will promote the transformation of detente into an all-embracing and irreversible process.

The recently-published book by A. V. Vakhramayev is dedicated to the struggle of the socialist commonwealth for the relaxation of international tensions, for strengthening peace and national security. The book covers the lengthy period from the end of World War II to the second half of the 1970's, which was filled with very important international events.

The author makes a detailed examination of the question of how, over a period of many years the Soviet Union and the socialist nations have waged a determined struggle for establishing the prerequisites for improving the health of contemporary international relations, and against the imperialist policy of "Cold War"; for the lessening of tensions. Such prerequisites, the basis for detente, have truly been established by virtue of a great number of factors, the most important of which are changing the relation of forces in the world in favor of socialism as a result of the peace-loving policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth.

It is clearly and convincingly shown in the book what an outstanding role has been played by the Peace Program worked out at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses in realizing these objective prerequisites for turning from the "cold war" to relaxation of tensions, to confirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis for interrelations between states with different social systems.

Without a doubt, the merit of the book is its profound analysis of the very concept of relaxation of international tensions as the leading trend of contemporary world politics. The process of detente is exceptionally complex and multifaceted; it is not only an international, but also a socio-political phenomenon. This process comes forth as the direct instrument for reconstruction of the entire system of inter-governmental relations based on principles of peaceful coexistence. Such reconstruction, stresses the author, is not an instantaneous act, but a protracted, complex and contradictory process, during the course of which ebbs and flows are observed: real progress, and occasionally, movement in reverse. The truth of this conclusion is confirmed by many events in the present time.

The book examines the most important questions of the ideological and political struggle around the problems of international detente. One of its parts is especially devoted to criticism of the bourgeois conception of relaxation of international tensions. This is very important to readers just at the present time, when the forces of imperialism are trying to cast aside detente and return to the world of decades ago.

The book generalizes a large amount of historical materials and contains a great deal of factual statistical data. It is of interest not only to scholars and historians but also to lecturers and propagandists, and to everyone who is interested in questions of the foreign-policy activities of our party.

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INTERNATIONAL

STUDENTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES STUDY IN GEORGIA

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Jul 80 p 3

[Report by GruzINFORM, "In the Language of the Great October Revolution"]

[Excerpt] Dozens of young men and women from Laos, Nepal, Tunis, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and other developing countries were the first graduates of the preparatory department for foreign citizens at the Tbilisi State University. Within the walls of the oldest higher educational institution in the capital of Georgia, under the leadership of experienced instructors, they have learned the Russian language in the course of a year, and have mastered the fundamentals of the humanities and technical subjects.

"On the basis of the results of the examinations which they have taken, all of the foreign students have earned the right to continue their studies in the specialties which they have chosen, in the VUZ's and technical schools of our country," said the Dean of the Preparatory Department, Senior Lecturer K. Keshviliani to the GruzINFORM correspondent. "They have been assigned to higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, Baku and other cities. Several of them have expressed the desire to continue their studies in the VUZ's of Tbilisi."

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INTERNATIONAL

IRANIAN DELEGATION VISITS BAKU

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 19 Jun 80 p 3

[Report by Azerinform, "Delegation from Iran to Baku"]

[Text] On 18 June an Iranian governmental delegation headed by Minister of Economy and Finances, Reza Saly, arrived in Baku. The delegation is taking part in the 9th session of the Permanent Soviet-Iranian Committee on Economic and Technical Cooperation, the first since the completion of the anti-monarchical, anti-imperialist revolution and proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the work of which is being conducted in Moscow.

At the airport the guests were greeted by Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Finances B. G. Bakhshaliyev, Head of the Department for Foreign Economic Contacts of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Z. D. Muradaliyev, Plenipotentiary of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers A. B. Bashirzade, and other officials, as well as employees of the General Consulate of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Baku.

Arriving with the delegation in the capital of Azerbaijan was Ambassador to the USSR of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mohammad Mokri.

On the same day the guests visited the Baku home air conditioner plant.

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INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

IRANIAN AMBASSADOR VISITS LENINGRAD--The extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Soviet Union, Mohammed Mokhri, who has arrived in Leningrad, yesterday paid an official visit to the diplomatic agency of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Taking part in the talks was the temporary consul of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Leningrad, Mohammad Hussein Alavi Tabatabai. [Text] [Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 80 p 3] 9006

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

BODYUL ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, MOLDAVIA'S ECONOMIC TASKS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 10 Jul 80 pp 2-3

[Speech by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, Comrade I. I. Bodyul at a meeting of the republic's party activists on 9 July 1980: "The Results of the June 1980 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Executing Its Decisions and the Instructions Provided by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and in Assuring the Proper Meeting of the 26th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpts] The workers of Moldavia, like the rest of the Soviet citizens, perceived with a tremendous amount of inspiration the decision of the Plenum to convoke the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as the decree which provides a high evaluation of the activities of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in resolving international problems, lessening the tension in the world, and guaranteeing the peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation among peoples and countries.

The workers, kolkhos members, and intellectuals in the republic unanimously support and approve the foreign and domestic policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. At various meetings and in numerous statements sent in by workers in cities and villages there have been expressions of profound gratitude to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for creating the conditions for the peaceful labor of the Soviet citizens, for his constant concern for the happiness of the present and future generations, and for implementing the most heartfelt yearnings and hopes of the broad masses of the people. In their statements they express their joy and pride in the awareness that the party and the state are headed by an ardent warrior for the people's happiness, a true Leninist who, in all his activities, is guided by the objective laws of socialism, who faithfully foresees the course of the further development of society, and who steadfastly defends the interests of our Motherland and the interests of our workers.

Thanking Comrade L. I. Brezhnev from the bottom of their hearts for his gigantic work for the good of peace and socialism, the republic's

workers assure Leonid Il'ich, the party's Central Committee, and the Soviet government that they are not sparing their efforts for the successful fulfillment of the plans for the current year, and that they will do everything to assure the proper meeting of the forthcoming party congress and will make a new contribution to the further prosperity of our great socialist Motherland.

Comrades, allow me, in your name and in the name of the Moldavian people, to wish Leonid Il'ich good health, long years of life, and much success in his multifaceted activities in the high position of leader of the party and the state in the name of socialist progress on earth.

I

Comrades! At the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev re-emphasized that peace is an intransitory asset for mankind as a whole and that the Soviet Union will always be faithful to the banner that was raised by Lenin -- the banner of peace and cooperation among peoples. That absolutely fundamental trend in our country's foreign policy made it possible to achieve in the 1970's important positive shifts on the international arena, and to make the *détente* the leading tendency in international relations.

The world's public opinion approves and supports everything that contributes to the *détente*, to peaceful conditions in which peoples can work and live. However, the crisis phenomena in the capitalist system and the inconsistency of the policy of the bourgeois governments have aggravated the international situation.

The forces of international reaction have launched a vicious attack upon the *détente* and upon those positive shifts which have been achieved in the preceding years. Pursuing the goal of retarding the objective process of renovating the world, the militaristic circles of the NATO countries, and especially the United States, have intensified the arms race, have begun to expand the zone for billeting their armed forces, and are attempting to change to their benefit the military equilibrium that has developed, and to surpass the Soviet Union in all types of armament. Imperialism has taken a course of preparing for and launching direct military actions against the nations that are striving to extricate themselves from the sovereignty of the monopolies.

The present-day leaning of the policy in the countries of the West in the direction of heating up the situation and using threats of force, boycotts, and economic sanctions is explained chiefly by the ever-growing shocks which have been experienced by capitalism and which have been occurring in all spheres of its functioning, and also by the loss of their advantages and prospects for development. As L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, this is "the class reaction to the consolidation of the

positions of socialism, to the successes achieved by the national-liberation struggle of the nations, and to the increase in the democratic, progressive forces in the capitalist world." It is a kind of desperate attempt on the part of imperialism to hold back or at least stop temporarily the social progress on earth, to turn the course of events to its advantage, and to subordinate it to the interests of the further enrichment of the exploiter classes by robbing the workers in their countries and the workers in the former colonial and dependent states.

The most sinister phenomenon among the world's reactionaries in recent years has been the treason perpetrated by the Beijing hegemonists, who have joined up with the imperialists and have created with them a single anti-Soviet, antisocialist bloc. The partnership between imperialism and Chinese hegemonism represents, as the decree of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes, a serious danger for mankind as a whole, including for the American and Chinese peoples.

After describing the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and the danger in the adventurism of the Chinese chauvinists, the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee expressed the conviction that there exist in the world the objective opportunities and sociopolitical forces that are capable of preventing the slipping into a new Cold War, of guaranteeing the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and of preventing the threat of a worldwide thermonuclear conflict. The Plenum instructed the Politburo of the Central Committee to continue steadily the course of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, aimed at the taking of all steps to reinforce the fraternal alliance of the socialist states, at supporting the just struggle being waged by nations for their freedom and independence, at preserving and developing the international *détente*, and at assuring mutually advantageous cooperation among states in the economic, scientific, and cultural areas.

In the Declaration adopted at the meeting in Warsaw and in the Statement concerning the convoking of a summit conference of the states, there is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation that has developed and a concrete, constructive program of the steps that are necessary for eliminating the centers of tension and the tendencies in international development which are dangerous for all peoples. These steps are directed at erecting an insurmountable obstacle on the path of the arising of a new war, and at guaranteeing the peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems.

The fraternal socialist countries have expressed their firm conviction that, so long as there is good will, so long as there is an intelligent approach to international affairs that takes into consideration the realities that have developed, it is possible to resolve any global or regional problem by peaceful means on the basis of the principles of equality and identical security.

The Plenum approved the steps adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government for rendering assistance to Afghanistan in repelling

armed attacks from without. The government of Afghanistan made that request to the Soviet Union, and we were summoned to do that by our international duty, in the interests of our Motherland. It was necessary to rebuff actions being taken in that country by forces of domestic and foreign reaction, which had been organized by the imperialists and the Chinese hegemonists with the purpose of stifling the progressive Afghan revolution and creating a military-political imperialistic beachhead on the southern borders of the USSR.

The Plenum stated that it was in favor of the political normalization of the situation that had been created around Afghanistan, a country which, as is emphasized in statements by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, is conducting a policy of nonalignment and which demands the complete cessation of subversive actions from outside the country, and also demands guarantees of noninterference in its internal affairs and in the determination of its own fate.

Life in Afghanistan, as everyone knows, is gradually becoming normal again. The large-scale gangs of counterrevolutionaries have been destroyed, and the interventionists have been dealt a serious defeat. The Afghan nation is rallying more and more closely around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government, supports their policy, and welcomes the solidarity and fraternal aid on the part of the Soviet Union and the international progressive forces.

Under these conditions the Soviet Union adopted the decision to withdraw certain of its units from the military contingent that had been sent to Afghanistan. At that time Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev stated that we shall continue to help the Afghan people to build their life in a new way and to preserve the gains of the April revolution.

As for bourgeois propaganda, it uses every means in the attempt to distort the policy of the Soviet state, to lessen the positive effect that the June Plenum's decisions has upon mankind. However, the well-principled, firm, and consistent position taken by our party, a position that was expressed with new force by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is exerting a sobering effect even upon the enemies of *détente*.

An important event in international life is the holding of the Games in the 22nd Summer Olympics, which, for the first time in history, are being held in the capital of the world's first socialist state -- in Moscow. The sports complexes that have been created in Moscow for the holding of the Olympics evoke the rapture of world public opinion. They personify the tremendous opportunities of socialism, its elevated humanitarianism, and its noble goal -- the creation for man of all the conditions needed for his life and labor, the raising of the cultural level, and the strengthening of man's health.

At the present time the Olympic flame is ceremoniously traveling across the sacred land of our Soviet Motherland. Its three-day travel through

Moldavia developed into an unforgettable holiday of international solidarity, into a manifestation of the faithful that Soviet citizens have to the ideals of peace and the fruitful cooperation and friendship among peoples.

II

Comrades! In line with the decision of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the convoking of the next party congress, the nation has begun to perceive in a new and even more responsible manner the tasks that are confronting our country during the final year of the five-year plan. Those tasks were clearly and fully formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report and they encompass all aspects of our life. Their realization must be made the basis of the activities of all the party, soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and economic organizations, and of all the labor collectives. Everyone must engage actively in the competition for the meritorious meeting of the 26th Party Congress.

It is well known that in the party's long-term socioeconomic program, one of the leading places is given to capital construction, the expansion and reinforcement of fixed assets, and the use of the achievements of scientific-technical progress in developing them. During the past four and a half years, six billion rubles have been invested in our republic's national economy. Progressive methods of carrying out construction, methods that increase its effectiveness, are being introduced on a broader and broader scale. There has been a reduction of the amount of uncompleted construction. Uncompleted construction has been reduced to the normative level.

As a result of the concentration of material and labor resources and the better organization of operations at construction sites slated for activation in the next planning period, the fixed construction projects are being turned over by the established deadlines. More than 30 new industrial enterprises and dozens of agricultural enterprises have begun operating. Many plants, factories, and livestock farms have been modernized and technically re-equipped. The workers have received more than six million square meters of new housing.

However, many shortcomings and omissions continue to exist in our republic's capital construction. Plans for contracted operations are not being fulfilled, poor use is being made of materials, technology, transportation, and manpower, and poor-quality operations are being allowed. During the first five months of the current year, less than half the fixed assets planned for activation in the first half-year was put into operation. More than 36 million rubles of capital investments were under-used. There have been slow rates of construction at projects under the ministries of agriculture, food industry, and the building-materials industry, the agro-industrial Moldvinprom and Moldplodoovoshchprom Associations, which represent key branches of the republic's national economy. The plans for the mentioned ministries and departments are being fulfilled at the level

of 65-80 percent. Projects in the urban and housing managements are being constructed unsatisfactorily.

After analyzing the rate of capital construction in Moldavia, L. I. Brezhnev directed our attention to the lag that has been observed in the operations at construction projects slated for activation in the next planning period. At the June Plenum he especially emphasized the necessity of the prompt activation of the production and social projects.

The increased requirements made by the CPSU Central Committee on capital construction are well known to the ministers and the managers of the republic's construction organizations. But they are moving slowly to eliminate the shortcomings in their work. At many construction sites, no conditions have been created for highly productive labor. The directors and the engineer-technical personnel work without the proper initiative, persistence, and time-responsiveness. Party-political work among the construction workers is carried out at a low level and competition, propaganda, and the introduction of advanced experience have been organized only superficially. Nor has there been the proper concern for the everyday living conditions of the construction workers. These and other questions should be carefully and critically considered at party meetings, should be given a well-principled evaluation, and steps should be taken to correct the situation.

The highest indicators were achieved by our republic's industry during the first half of the current year. The plan provided for assuring during that period an increase of 8.3 percent in gross production, but that increase actually came to 14 percent; the increase in sales was, respectively, 7.3 and 13 percent. Labor productivity increased by 11 percent, as compared with 8.9 percent planned.

Numerous instances of preterm fulfillment of the five-year assignments by enterprises, brigades, and advanced production workers attest to the fact that many production collectives and even entire branches have at their disposal large reserves and opportunities, the use of which will make it possible not only to reduce substantially, but also to overcome completely the lag that has been occurring in the industry as a whole in the fulfillment of the five-year plan.

What are these reserves and what must be done to use them effectively? The collectives that have completed the five-year plan should continue the competition for the increase in production of output in excess of plan. For that purpose it is necessary to reconsider the previously taken pledges, to adjust them, and to provide everything that is needed to produce output in excess of plan.

A large reserve of ours has been the fight to eliminate the lag at enterprises which operate unrhythmically, and which have not been coping with the monthly plans for sale of output and increase of labor productivity. According to computations made by economists, in light industry alone

in a six-months period that will produce output valued at 5 million rubles in excess of the plan, and if one takes all the branches, it is possible to produce output valued at tens of millions of rubles in excess of plan.

And there is one more reserve. At many enterprises there are large losses of work time. The elimination of absenteeism, equipment outages, and violations of labor discipline by just one-third would make it possible to produce output in the second half-year that is valued at 7 million rubles.

In order to achieve better, more complete use of these and other reserves and opportunities, it is necessary for the main efforts of the ministries, departments, and city and rayon party committees, the party and public organizations, and the economic personnel to be directed at the better organization of labor and production, at the active supporting of advanced forms and methods of working, at people's labor initiative, involving all the workers in the competition, and at improving the situation with regard to the communist education of the workers and the raising of their standard of living.

The entire arsenal of means at the disposal of the party and soviet economic work must be used completely and effectively in the interests of achieving the principal goal: the unconditional fulfillment of the five-year plan and the creation of better conditions for the successful operation of industry during the next five-year plan, the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Approximately one year has passed since the adoption by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of the decrees governing the improvement of planning and of the economic mechanism. During the time that has elapsed since then, a definite amount of work has been done to implement the principles contained in them; to explaining to the workers the political and socioeconomic significance of the steps that were planned and that were being carried out; and to carrying out organizational plans for conducting the measures that were specified by the decrees. One can evaluate as being positive that work that is being done in this direction by the ministries of light, furniture, and wood-processing industries, the Moldplodoovoshchprom Agro-Industrial Association, and individual enterprises that are under USSR subordination.

At the same time certain ministries and departments have been dragging out the reorganization of the economic mechanism. Frequently they have been resolving in other than a comprehensive manner the problems evolving from the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on this score; they have been doing little to engage in organizational work for the implementation of the measures and frequently have been carrying out the introduction of various measures without the proper coordination, in a superficial manner.

Little attention is being directed to preparing well-substantiated norms for labor or for the expenditure of raw and other materials, fuel, and

energy. Work is proceeding unsatisfactorily in economizing the raw-material and fuel-and-energy resources. Last years a number of production collectives overexpended 24,000 tons of solid and liquid fuel, more than 10 million kilowatt-hours of electrical energy, and 18 million gigacalories of thermal energy. The nonfulfillment of the assignments for reducing the expenditure of fuel and electrical energy, and the considerable overexpenditure of them occur most frequently at enterprises and organizations of the ministries of the building-materials industry, light industry, motor transport, the construction and operation of highways, reclamation and water management, Moldavpotreboyz, and Moldavian SSR Council of Sovkhozes.

There has been an unjustified prolonging of the process of preparing record cards for enterprises and associations, which are needed for the correct determination of their opportunities for increasing labor productivity and increasing the production of output. One continues to encounter instances when the plans are elaborated on the basis of the dynamics that have developed, and frequent adjustments are made in them, in the direction of reducing them. The style and methods of administration as applicable to the new conditions are improving slowly.

The Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and ministries and departments in the republic must intensify the organizer work of improving the mechanism of management and must strive to carry it out in inseparable relationship with the resolution of the tasks involving the effectiveness of production, and of achieving the unconditional fulfillment of the plans for economic and social development. The party organizations should increase their supervision over the fulfillment of the decrees issued by the party and government and also of their own decisions, dealing with questions of improving the planning and administration of production, and should show more demandingness toward the personnel who bear the responsibility for implementing the measures that have been set down for improving the mechanism of management.

III

Comrades! The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee re-emphasized that one of the most important tasks that the party has given the country is the production, in sufficient quantity and in a broad variety, of high-quality foodstuffs, and the continuous supplying of them to the workers. In the solution of that task, the leading role belongs to agriculture.

In Moldavia that branch, developing on a solid production base and on the basis of the integration of social production and the industrialization of technological methods, the improvement of economic relations, and the raising of the material standard of living of the rural workers, has achieved a comparatively high level of intensification. At the present

time 100 hectares of agricultural land produces output valued at 112,000 rubles, whereas at the end of the Ninth Five-Year Plan that output was valued at 96,000 rubles. Last year the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, sovkhos-plants, and interfarm and agro-industrial associations achieved an increase in gross output of 11 percent as compared with 1978.

Even better opportunities for assuring an increase in agricultural production are being formed during the current year. It is important to make the maximum use of them and also to provide for the planned increase in production.

The winter period of the All-Union Socialist Competition in Animal Husbandry has come to an end. The results of the competition will be summed up by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee for the branch's work period of 1 October 1979 to 1 July 1980. Our results are positive, both with regard to the indicators for the fourth quarter of last year and for the first half-year of 1980. Sales of meat during the indicate period were 31,800 tons in excess of plan; milk, 5,100 tons; eggs, 19.7 million more. There was also an increase in the number of head of livestock of all types, as compared with last year.

These achievements are especially convincing against the background of the fact that livestock was provided with concentrates from last year's harvest by only 60 percent. Consequently, the success was achieved as a result of the economizing of fodders, their efficient use. The decisive role in this was played by the interfarm associations for fodders and by the animal-husbandry complexes.

For the successful completion of the yearly plan for the production and sale of products of animal husbandry, a lot remains to be done. The sale of milk during the second half-year must be increased by 8 percent, and meat, 30 percent. In order to realize that task, it is necessary to increase the number of head of all types of livestock and poultry and to raise the weight specifications for cattle to 450-500 kilograms. The fight for high livestock productivity and the integrity of the herd must be continued persistently so as to achieve a considerable increase in the valuable products of agriculture.

In May 1980 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia thoroughly discussed the question of the further intensification of fodder production, and improving the quality and use of fodders. The Plenum defined the specific tasks in reinforcing the material-technical base for the interfarm associations for the production and processing of fodders; in increasing the volumes of procurements of coarse, succulent, and green fodders; and the construction of fodder storage facilities. It has been planned to produce during the current year 252,000 tons of hay; 1.5 million tons of *senazh*; 160,000 tons of vitamin-grass meal;

to lay in 1.2 million tons of silage; to grow 1.2 million tons of fodder root crops; and to procure 1.8 million tons of straw.

The weather conditions currently are favoring the fulfillment of the established assignments. The stand of sown and natural grasses everywhere is good, and there are opportunities to supplement the fodder reserves by procuring green mass in the woods and in river and lake bottomlands. Unfortunately, the harvesting of grasses is proceeding slowly. As of 30 June, only 64 percent of the first mowing of sown grasses were harvested; and only 16 percent of the planned hay procurement was achieved. There has been a serious lag in the procurement of fodders in Dubossarskiy, Nisporenakiy, Leovski, Grigornopol'skiy, Kamenskiy, Suvorovski, Drokiyevski, Reziński, Floreshtski, and a number of other rayons. That lag is completely unexplainable, since the opportunities for the procurement of hay, *senash*, and grass meal currently are considerably greater than they were in past years.

The decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia plan for important measures involving the processing of straw and corn stalks. It will be necessary to achieve the carrying out of these measures at all costs. That will make it possible to achieve a considerable improvement in the use of those major fodder resources and to reduce the expenditure of concentrates in the production of beef and milk and in the growing of heifers.

The cattle fodder rations that we use are expensive. The predominant component in them is concentrates, whereas beef and milk can be obtained with minimum expenditures of grain. The farms in Reziński and Komratskiy rayons are creating major capacities for the processing of straw and corn stalks. But in other rayons almost nothing is being done to use this source of supplementing the fodder balance.

The party's rayon committees and the rayon executive committees should organize in a better manner the fulfillment of the decisions of the Central Committee's Plenum concerning the increase in the production of fodders, the guaranteeing of their industrial processing, and their efficient use.

Spring was late in arriving this year, and the weather conditions for carrying out the field operations proved to be difficult. But the republic's mechanizers, using the advantages of the mechanization associations, passed with distinction the severe test that nature had subjected them to, and, within compressed periods of time and at a high level of quality, carried out the sowing of the spring crops, assured the cultivation of the industrial and vegetable crops, and the dressing of the sown areas. A good harvest of cereal crops is expected everywhere. Corn is in clean condition without the manual cultivation of the spaces between the rows.

In the current year it is necessary to achieve a decisive change in improving the quality of grain shipped to the state. In Moldavia the soils are

fertile and make it possible to grow strong wheat varieties successfully. These varieties include the basic variety that we grow -- Odesakaya-51. And yet we sell the state only an insignificant part of that crop with high quality specifications.

The quality of the grain depends upon the harvesting time and the time when careful additional processing is carried out. The grain-growers of Orgeyevskiy Rayon, under the very same conditions as the others have and using the very same regionalized varieties, last year sold to the state 72 percent of wheat in strong quality specifications, while the grain-growers of Vulkaneshtskiy and other southern rayons, which have at their disposal the conditions that are better for the accumulation of gluten, sold wheat of that quality only within the limits of 5-10 percent. This year it is necessary to declare a mass movement for the sale to the state of wheat with high milling quality.

One should prepare right now for the harvesting of corn. The task that is posed is to harvest no less than 50 quintals of corn grain per hectare.

A good basis has been laid for obtaining a high harvest of sugar beets, sunflowers, tobacco, vegetables, fruits, and grapes. By the beginning of the harvesting of the cereal crops, it is necessary to complete the cultivation of the cultivated crops, primarily in Kriulyanskiy, Floreshtskiy, Sorokskiy, and certain other rayons where large areas of these crops have been overgrown with weeds.

During the current year there is the opportunity of delivering to the processing enterprises considerably more raw materials than during previous years. In order to make the maximum use of these opportunities, the managers of farms, agro-industrial associations, and the Ministry of the Food Industry must promptly prepare the plants for the acceptance and processing of the current year's harvest. It is inadmissible when this work drags out. And there have been instances of this happening.

Not a single kilogram of agricultural output that has been intended for processing should be lost. Moreover, it will be necessary to increase the raw-material resources of the processing enterprises by procuring vegetables, fruits, and grapes from the public and by making economical use of the fruits and berries that grow in the forests and timber strips.

It is the duty of the administrators, the engineer-technical workers, and all the labor collectives of the processing enterprises to do everything to assure that agricultural raw materials are accepted promptly, stored, efficiently processed, and used to produce valuable output in considerably greater volumes than is set down by the plan and thus to supplement the shortage of output that occurred in past years. It is necessary simultaneously to carry out, at accelerated rates, the delivery of fruit and vegetable output to the nationwide fund.

Recently we have not ceased to speak about the poor operation of transportation. During the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan the volume of

freight turnover by trucks increased by only 5 percent, instead of the 42 percent according to the five-year plan. With regard to the volume of freight turnover on rail transportation, instead of the planned 19 percent increase, there was a 2.6 percent reduction from the 1975 level.

The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee demanded the maximum use of reserves for improving the work of motor and rail transportation. We have such reserves. In order to activate them, it is necessary to reinforce the party organizations in transportation, to raise the level of their influence upon production affairs, and to improve considerably the political work among the driver personnel and the railroad workers. It will be necessary to increase the responsibility borne by the personnel for the promptness of loading and unloading of the transport, for repairing, and for the complete use of the transportation means, and to demonstrate intolerance toward all instances of lack of discipline or lack of organization in transportation.

The republic's ministries dealing with plans for commodity turnover and the providing of everyday services to the public have not been coping with their plans. The level of efficiency and quality of trade and services remains low, and there has been no real effort to eradicate violations of the prices on the price lists. The public's demand for consumer goods, especially for early fruits and vegetables, is being satisfied poorly.

The ministries of trade, everyday services for the public, the housing-and-communal economy, Moldavpotreboyz, Moldavplodoovoshchprom, the party's city and rayon committees, the local soviets, and the primary party organizations in the sphere of public services must carry out organizational and material-technical measures to improve trade and the providing of everyday services to the public, and to raise the level of the political work among the personnel at the stores, snack bars, shops, and other enterprises in those branches of the national economy.

Comrades, allow me to assure the Leninist Central Committee and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev that the workers of Moldavia, in response to the decisions of the June Plenum of the Central Committee, will consolidate their ranks even more strongly around their beloved party, will make a worthy contribution to the implementation of its socioeconomic program, and will meet the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress with new achievements in economic and cultural construction. (Comrade I. I. Bodyul's speech was received with a large amount of attention and was repeatedly interrupted by prolonged applause.)

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN AZERIS IN BAKU, TABRIZ DETAILED

Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azerbaijani 7 Mar 80 p 7

[Article by Abbas Zamanov: "Letter to my friend in Tabriz"]

[Text] Dear Mahammad Ali Nigabi,

I received, read, thought about and was excited by your letter full of hope and light, sorrow and joy...

It is impossible not to be excited about your writing. You write that "I received your tasteful and sympathetic letter and the twelve books, and my heart pounded like a child's. I read your letter to my friend. He wanted me to read it immediately in the presence of other comrades because it has been years since we read a letter in our native language. We wrote our Suleyman Rustam's poetry devoted to the South by hand in closed rooms and sent them to comrades inside a box of candy; sometimes young people were thrown into dark prisons for reading a book in the mother tongue."

You write that "I enjoy sending fragrant greetings to you from old Tabriz-- it stimulates happiness and has created the possibility that I can write my blood brother so much that I cannot contain my joy. I remember that five years ago we went on tour to Julfa. The group leader conducting the tour told us that if we got close to the Araz, SAVAK agents would later hold me for interrogation. We had no possibility to take a look from near or from afar. We were compelled to bow to such a smothering climate..."

You write that "when I said that I had received a letter from you to someone, he said: Where is the paper? Give it to me, let me read it!"

Esteemed brother! Reading your letter and the books you sent I went through the same feelings as you. For years I have been corresponding with scholars in a number of countries of the world and exchanging books.

I wanted to correspond and exchange books with you with all my heart. But this remained an impossible dream. In the time of the Shah's government it was not possible to correspond with you. Finally, a connection has been created between us; my wish has come true; this longing which has discomforted me for years has been struck from my heart.

if I were to thank you a thousand times, if I were to say "thank you" a thousand times for your effecting the link between us, it would be little.

I said to someone that I received a letter from Tabriz. "What? Read it to me" he said. The numbers of those wanting to hear the letter grew so much that there was no time to read it to them individually. It was necessary to gather everyone wanting to hear the letter in one place. So, I read your letter to a group of poets in the Writers' Union, to teachers in the Faculty of Philology in the State University, and to workers in the Nizami Azerbaijan Literary Museum. All of them listened with great interest and excitement.

When People's Poet Süleyman Rüstäm heard your letter he became excited, and I have transcribed the verses he spontaneously declaimed below:

In the South
 freedom's sun is born.
Do not weep, my kaman,
 do not weep, my lute.
Come with your rose blossoms,
 with your flowers,
Do not weep, my Spring,
 do not weep, my Summer.

My brother, adorn Tabriz
 with love
Do not pretend to see
 your sun-filled days.
Eternal sorrow
 has gone away
And your mourning, and mine,
 so not weep!

Turning to the banner
 of truth
You won with your blood
 felicity.
I am Süleyman Rüstäm,
 I write of love
In the notebook of my heart,
 do not weep!

You write that in the course of conversation a Farsi said to you "Is there writing in the language of Azerbaijan?" and these words agitated you considerably.

Esteemed friend, we Azeris respect the languages and cultures of all peoples including the Farsi people. We believe that the Farsi people also respect our language and culture. The low-born fellow who said those words to you did not represent the Farsi people, but a handful of Farsi

chauvinists. The shah-lovers are not only the enemy of the Azeris, but of all nationalities living in Iran including the Parsis. Because of this the peoples of Iran, hand-in-hand, overturned the vile government of the Shah so that the frightened Shah had to flee the country to save his head. Now the peoples of Iran are living with the determination to return him to the country, which is very just, pass judgment on the crimes which he committed and imprison him. The books you sent show even more clearly that the peoples of Iran have always nourished an unending scorn for the Shah. In a poem composed in the days of revolution the poet Häbib Färshbaf, expressing the idea of all patriots who were sick in the soul of the tyranny of the Shah, wrote:

All cried out
In one angry voice:
Death to the Shah,
The great torturer!
Be gone! Chained dog
Of America,
It is enough that you sold
The country to a foreigner.

Now the relationship to the Azeri language in Iran has changed. Southern Azeri intellectuals, making use of this, are publishing and distributing books in the mother language. Certainly this is one of the first rays of light which is transforming the darkness of night.

Books and magazines coming into our hands show that you know quite well how and what to begin. Personally, the book you assembled and put out for children "Buds" is proof of this. In this 115-page book you have published samples of children's poetry by A. Sähhät, A. Shaig, M. Müshfig, R. Rza, M. Dilbazi, N. Rāfibāyli, Ä. Jāmil, M. Seyidzadā and T. Elchin. You explain to the child readers in the introduction the goal of the book:

"My dear and flower children!

Most of you have not read poetry in the language of Azerbaijan or, more correctly, in the mother tongue. Because of this you will perhaps read this book with some difficulty. Up to the present in our esteemed country, in our nest, in our great and honorable Iran it was forbidden to read or write, especially in Azerbaijan, in the Türk (Azərbaycani-A.Z.) language. Enemies of the language wanted that language of Azerbaijan, in its beauty, to be eliminated. But it is important to know that the sun does not always remain behind a cloud. Now that our country has been joined to liberty and all our hearts are filled with joy, I have collected the poetry of our great poets and published them so that you, dear children, may enjoy them. You will know in the future how powerful and profound our mother tongue is; you will know in the treasury of your heart how many sweet stories, riddles and rhymes have been laying in the treasury of your heart."

By publishing this book you have done a very generous thing. For now it is necessary to remind us that it is primarily the children who are the future

of the people and that there is poetry in the language they learned from their mothers, and that, up to now, there is nothing bad in the poems they read in another language in the schools.

I want to note another aspect, namely, that you have not included every poem that came to hand in the book, that you have selected poetry appealing to the level, taste and interest of the children.

In the short period just after the overthrow of the Shahist administration Southern Azeri intellectuals published a number of books of poetry: the master bard Gāshām Gālāndār's "The Country Does not Shoot Me" dedicated to Süleyman Rüstām, Māftun Āmini's "Caravan of Bards," Savala's "The Streams Carried Sara Away," Hābib Fārshbaf's "Dawn's Horizon," Bāhman Zāmani's "Araz," Sāttar Gūlmāhmmād's "Selected Works." It is also enjoyable reading literary fragments published in newspapers and magazines like VARLYG, JĀNLIBĀL and YOLDASH and you unceasingly loathe the overthrown Shahist regime which kept such talent locked up for years and believes that Southern Azeri literature will develop richly in the near future. We appreciate our esteemed brothers' feverish activity and wish them good luck on their path.

In the books coming out recently you sometimes complain about us. For example, in the poems of Sattar Kulmahammad "The Song of Hijran" and Bāhman Zāmani's "A Complaint to Garabagh in the Language of Garabagh" the result emerges that we are not interested in you. Certainly, man is offended where he should have hope. But, my esteemed friend, I am obliged to write that at no time were we unconcerned about you. The grief of the South, the anguish of the South, and the subject of the South has always been one of the unchanging subjects of our literature. We have always kept track of the pulse of your literary life. The master Shehriyar's poem "Greetings to Heydārbaba" is one of the most beloved poetic works of our readers. A number of books by the master have been published in Baku. In 1968 Shehriyar was invited to the jubilee commemorating the 250th anniversary of Molla Pānah Vagif. All Baku was prepared to meet the master with a celebration. A pity that he did not come. It was later learned that the Shah's government did not deliver the invitation to the poet.

The murder of the unforgettable Sāmād Bāhrāngi by SAVAK shocked us. Articles on Bāhrāngi appeared in our press and his works were translated into Azeri and published.

News about the untimely death of the poet Bulud Sāhānd shook us, all of us mourned and wept. Sāhānd is one of our most widely read poets.

The useful work done by M.Ā. Fārzanā, H. Sādig, Ā. Tābrizli, Yāhya Sheyda, S. Javid and other brothers of ours who did not refrain from literary activity--even in the fearful days of the Shah's regime--is well known to us. Even in those years our press did not write little about the books which they published.

Southern Azeri literature was always, and is, the center of our attention. In the Nizami Institute of Literature there is a special section for the Study and Publication of Southern Azeri Literature. The author of The Coming Day, Academician Mirzä Ibrahimov, heads this section.

I have enumerated all this so that you will know and believe that we have never forgotten you. Does a brother forget a brother?

My esteemed friend. I have sent most of the books you want and I will send the rest when I find them.

Despite the fact that a large number of copies of our books are published, they are quickly sold out. This is why I was unable to find some of them. Do not worry, if I can't find them I will send them from my private library. If they are not in my library I will take them from other comrades and send them. If I say to someone here 'give me such and such a book, I am sending it to Tabriz' they do not prevent it, they are happy.

You write in one of your letters: "The day must come when we can meet you on the shores of the Araz with salt, bread, a country song and the lute of a bard and bring you to Tabriz and seat you at the head of our councils."

My esteemed friend! We believe that the peoples of Iran, having revolted and overthrown the 2,500 year-old loathsome tyranny of the imperial regime and put an end to the intrigues organized by American imperialists in present-day Iran, will stabilize the situation in Iran. Then there is no doubt that friendly relations of the Soviet country with neighboring Iran will be strengthened even further. Then coming and going between our two countries will be easier, and we will be able to meet and become acquainted personally.

Respectfully,

Abbas Zamanov

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